HISTORY OF

THE MIDDLE AGES

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300 - 1500

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THE ROMAN EMPIRE
AT ITS GREATEST
EXTENT (98–117 A.D.)

English Miles

0   100   200   300   400.   500   600

0 10

50

40

30

Lond. Eas

50

Rha

A l a u n i

S C Y T H I A

_V e n e d a e_

S A R M A T I A

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_A r a b i a_

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E G Y P T

_d e s e r t a_

Nilus

Sinus Arabicus

Thebae

CHAPTER I

THE ROMAN EMPIRE

THE Roman Empire was the greatest civil institution ever created by the mind and energy of man. None of the great empires of antiquity which preceded it equaled it in power or extent. No later empire has rivaled it in temporal duration or surpassed it in quality of rule. With due allowance for the difference between modern empires—the British Empire, for example—and the Roman Empire, a comparison of Roman imperialism with modern imperialism must be adverse to the latter. In his *Ancient and Modern Imperialism* Lord Cromer has written:

"If we turn to the comparative results obtained by ancient and modern imperialists; if we ask ourselves whether the Romans, with their imperfect means of locomotion and communication, their relatively low standard of public morality, and their ignorance of many economic and political truths which have now become axiomatic, succeeded as well as any modern people in assimilating the nations which the prowess of their arms had brought under their sway, the answer cannot be doubtful. They succeeded far better. . . . There has been no thorough fusion, no real assimilation between the British and their alien subjects, and, so far as we can now predict, the future will in this respect be but a repetition of the past."

Comparison between Roman and modern imperialism

From the Roman Empire a vast body of ideas and institutions passed into the Middle Ages, the compelling power of which is still felt. Every nation of Romance stock in Europe today is directly the offspring of Rome; and in those which are not—like the Teutonic and the Slavonic nations—the effect of Roman influence in molding their ideas and shaping their institutions falls little short of the power of direct Latin tradition.

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Physically every civilized country known to antiquity, except Persia and India, was comprehended within the Roman Empire,

and, in addition, barbarian lands and peoples in Europe and northern Africa. The territories of modern Italy, France, Spain, Portugal, Britain, Belgium, Greece, Jugoslavia, Roumania, Bulgaria, Turkey, Armenia, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Tripoli, Tunis, Algeria, Morocco, were wholly within the Roman Empire at its widest extent, A.D. 117, besides nearly half of Germany, southern Holland, most of Austria and Hungary, southern and isthmian Russia, Iraq (Mesopotamia), and a portion of present Persia. Moreover, Roman influence radiated far beyond the official limits of the Empire. It reached Persia and India, penetrated Nubia and the present Sudan, stretched far into the desert of the Sahara and the fastnesses of the Atlas and the Magrib, filled with dread the painted Picts in Caledonia, and overawed the German nations in the dark woodlands east of the Rhine and north of the Danube.

Extent of the Roman Empire

It remains one of the wonders of history that Imperial Rome was able so long and so efficiently to hold together these vast geographical areas and mighty masses of men of various races and nations; to establish government and to give laws to millions of people differing in historic tradition, in culture, language, and religion; to fuse older nations, some of decrepit civilization, such as Greece and Egypt, and younger new nations of barbarians, such as the Gauls and the Germans, who were no more than standing upon the threshold of civilization.

In its best period, from the accession of Augustus in 27 B.C. to the death of Marcus Aurelius, A.D. 180, the Roman Empire was an intelligent, efficient and healthy social organism. Better than most governments it combined two great merits. To the upper classes it appeared as an intelligent system of administration. To the lower classes it appeared as an assured protector of life and property, of justice in the courts, of honest and not onerous taxation, and of the principle of non-interference in their intimate daily life, their language, their local social institutions, their religion.

Greatness of the Roman Empire

In form of government the early Roman Empire—that is to say, until the great changes made by Diocletian after 284—was a monarchy which preserved many outward evidences of the former republican government. It would be untrue to regard it as wholly a military monarchy, more so to regard it as a despotism. It was not a constitutional monarchy, for that is a development of modern times;

yet in the early Roman Empire there was a body of law and traditions and institutions and a division of authority which gave it an almost constitutional aspect.

"The Roman Republic, so long as it enjoyed any true unity at all, had one head—the senate. Under the Empire, the forms of the Republic still, in large part, persisted, and the senate still ranked as the chief representative of the State. But to ensure peace at home and abroad, a new office had been evolved, uniting in itself many of the powers of the consuls and tribunes in Rome and of the general in the provinces—the office of emperor or chief citizen. The emperor, in fact, united in his person just those elements in the State which had outgrown the control of the senate. But by a compromise, which in its origin at least was far from being a hollow farce, the senate still retained a handsome share of authority and power, resigning only the control of those departments which it had proved incompetent to administer. In the end, the emperor drew all real power to himself and the senate was left with nothing but the shadow of its former greatness; but this came only at the end of a long process of development, which was not complete till nearly the close of the third century."[1]

Augustus warily avoided assuming the title *imperator* as a dignity and devised the title of Prince of the Senate (*princeps senatus*), thus mollifying the senators and unreconciled republicans without in any wise abating his authority. In modern parlance he might be called the chief magistrate of the Roman Empire. His was an imperial authority tending more and more towards absolutism, masked under republican forms.

The political organization instituted by Augustus (27 B.C.–A.D. 14) was a compromise. It put aside the autocracy of Cæsar and at the same time vested in the new emperor the authority of the most important offices of the former Republic, like that of tribune, censor, *pontifex maximus*. It took military command away from the consuls, though preserving the office as a sinecure for uses of imperial patronage, and lodged it permanently in the emperor (*imperator*). It

Administrati system

[1] HAROLD MATTINGLY, "The Coinage of the Roman Empire," *Edinburgh Review*, Vol. CCXLIX (April 1929), p. 328.

left to the senate its ancient dignity, but reduced its legislative, judicial, and administrative power. This famous body was now made up of representatives chosen by the emperor from the Empire at large, and was no longer the close oligarchy of republican times. The emperor's *edicta, decreta, rescripta, mandata, epistolæ,* were of more important and wider legislative application than the laws passed by the senate, which were limited in scope and largely of a routine nature. The court of the prætorian prefect (chief justice, as it were) became the final court of appeal in both civil and criminal cases.

The absence of a law of succession in the early Roman Empire has sometimes been designated by shallow historians as an evidence of Rome's political incapacity. The weakness is undeniable; but the remedy was not so easy as one might think. The very fact *Political weak-* that the early Roman Empire was not only an empire under re-*ness in absence* publican forms, but professedly a continuation and extension of the *of a law of* former Republic, made it impossible to establish a positive law of *succession* succession without dropping this mask. It was politically advisable, even necessary, for the Early Empire to preserve this appearance, since the party of stiff, unreconciled and unreconstructed old-fashioned republicans was very influential and commanded a majority in the senate.

Under the Severi in the early third century the conception of the nature of the imperial authority began to undergo gradual transformation. The disorders incident to the supremacy of the army made orderly succession impossible. Conspiracies and rebellions were common. When Commodus was murdered in 192 A.D. the senate tried to recover its power and appointed one of its members, Pertinax, to be emperor. But within three months his strict and parsimonious policy —a parsimony made necessary by the prodigality of Commodus— angered the prætorians, who began the disastrous practice of trafficking with the crown and of supporting him among all competitors who promised them the largest donative. For the next ninety years the disposal of the imperial crown was in the hands of the army, and it was either auctioned off to the highest bidder or seized by some popular army commander. Both the emperors and the senate became victims of army control.

This is not to say, however, that all of the emperors of the third century were inefficient or bad. The first of these "barrack emperors,"

Septimius Severus (193–211), was an able, though despotic, ruler, *The third cen-*
whose reign marks a turning-point in the history of the Roman *tury the age of*
Empire and of Roman institutions. The senate became a perfunctory *the barrack*
and almost obsolete organ of administration. With Decius (249– *emperors*
51) began an unbroken series of outright military emperors, for
the most part able and honest men, whose misfortune was that the
times were out of joint. There was crying need of drastic reform
of provincial administration, taxation, the coinage. Moreover, as if
to aggravate these internal problems, German pressure on the Rhine
and Danube had now become formidable, while Persia menaced the
provinces in Asia.

These years between 249 and 284, when Diocletian came to the
throne and revolutionized the nature of the Roman government, are
among the most important years in imperial history; for practically
every problem of the later Roman Empire then presented itself.
The pressure of every dissolving or destructive force, internal or
external, political, economic, social and religious, the Germans and
the Persians, then became acute. No mere chronological relation of
important events can make this development clear. It must be
handled by subjects. We must relate one subject to another when
necessary, with due consideration of the influence of the emperors
as they strove to solve problems beyond them. In a word, the causes
of the decline of the Roman Empire are implicit in the third century.

The chief political problem in the third century was to preserve *Signs of*
the unity of the Roman Empire. As early as 200 some of the
provinces had evinced a disposition to secede. It would be superficial
to ascribe these provincial revolts wholly to ambitious pretenders.
Pescennius Niger in the East and Clodius Albinus in Gaul, in the
time of Septimius Severus, were formidable because of popular dis-
content in those regions—a discontent of which they were in a certain
degree the expression and which they capitalized to promote their
own ambitious designs. This phenomenon of secession, however,
becomes more strikingly evident later, in the reign of Gallienus
(260–68), the time of the so-called "Thirty Tyrants." Spontaneous
provincial insurrection then was widely manifest. In all of these
cases, if we delve below the surface of things, we discover that wide-
spread economic discontent, social unrest, racial-national ambition,
and local pride sustained these pretenders.

Many historians have thought that the increasing centralization of government in the later Roman Empire caused its decline and have argued that the central authority crushed provincial spirit. But an analysis of these local conditions discloses that the government must be acquitted of the charge of tyranny. Incompetence or untrustworthiness of provincial governors, laxness of provincial assemblies (*conventus*), were general and growing evils in the third century. The government was frequently compelled to intervene in the interest of administrative efficiency. The usual remedy was to reduce the size of the province and sometimes to separate civil from military authority. Britain, Dacia, Mesopotamia, Assyria, and Babylonia were the only new provinces added to the Roman Empire after the time of Augustus. Yet in spite of the fact that the last two were renounced by Hadrian in 117 as too costly to retain against Persia, and that Aurelian withdrew Roman rule from Dacia in 275 because of the Goths, we find that between A.D. 41 and A.D. 337 the number of provinces increased from forty-six to one hundred and nineteen.

The break-down of municipal government was no less marked than that of the government of the provinces. Many cities were extravagant in municipal improvements and public adornments, building luxurious municipal baths, theaters, circuses. All this entailed heavy local taxation which was frequently made heavier by official corruption. Even as far back as the second century Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius appointed "correctors" to examine the books of municipalities which had got in a bad way. Sometimes municipal liberties were abolished and the government of the town was combined with that of the province.

Taxation   By the third century the burden of taxation, both of the central government and of local authorities, had become acute. The whole Empire was divided into customs circles, and duties (*portoria*) were imposed upon all articles of commerce, varying from two per cent on ordinary commodities to twelve per cent on luxuries, in addition to which almost every town collected a small tax from all comestibles brought in from the environs by market gardeners and poulterers— a tax which still survives in the Romance countries of Europe as the *octroi*. But the *portoria* tended to increase and by the fourth century were a flat rate of twelve and one-half per cent. The chief tax upon industry was the *chrysargyrum*, or gold-silver tax, so called

because it was exacted in actual cash or bullion, while *portoria* and *octroi* might be defrayed by the commodities themselves, just as the old-fashioned miller used to take as the price of his service a proportion of the grain brought to his mill to be ground.

The greatest burden of taxation, however, fell upon the land (*tributum* or *stipendium*) and its occupants. Grand landed proprietorship was very general throughout the Roman world. In theory the members of the proprietary class were supposed to pay this tax, but in practice the burden was passed on to their tenantry in the form of rent or increased services exacted. When the small farmer could not pay, he mortgaged his land, saw the mortgage foreclosed by some wealthy neighboring proprietor, and became a serf; or else he abandoned his farm and drifted into some city to become a member of that idle proletariat whose numbers were a canker in Roman urban society. The *munera* or compulsory-service taxes exacted in every province and municipality for the upkeep of roads, bridges and aqueducts and the maintenance of the courier posts (*cursus*) were also heavy local taxes. Finally, the capitation tax was imposed upon everyone not a slave. Originally this tax had distinguished those who had Roman citizenship, but in 212 Caracalla, taking advantage of the greater taxation that could then be imposed, "conferred" citizenship upon all free provincials. It was a mercenary act and degraded the once noble quality of Roman citizenship.

Thus we observe a progressive increase of direct (*tributa*) and indirect (*vectigalia*) taxes within the Roman Empire in the third century. The taxes multiplied in number; the rate steadily increased.

The effect of this accumulated burden upon the social structure was profound. The rich, chiefly the landed aristocracy, grew richer, the *Peasant revolt* poor poorer. The free middle class in town and country was slowly impoverished and reduced to industrial or agricultural serfdom. Capital shrunk because production declined, and excessive taxation consumed profits and surplus. To add to the distress, prices rose enormously, and conditions were further aggravated by the debasing of the coinage which some emperors did not hesitate to practice. In these conditions are to be found the motivating influences behind the rebellions in the provinces. In the very year that Diocletian became emperor, many provinces of Gaul were jeopardized by rabble armies of revolted peasants (*Bagaudæ*), with whom runaway slaves,

escaped criminals, and the riff-raff of the countryside consorted. Towns were invaded, farmsteads burned. Worse than such move- ments of insurrection and secession were the widespread brigandage on land and the piracy on the sea, especially in the Adriatic and the Ægean.

The best emperors of the third century, notably Valerian (253–60), Claudius II (268–70), Aurelian (270–75), and Probus (276– 82), were not indifferent to these serious matters and endeavored to institute reforms. But the problem was too intricate, the conditions too complex, and their power insufficient for them to accomplish much. Aurelian made a tentative effort to revise the system of taxation and to reform the coinage; Probus, to improve agriculture. Realizing that, economically speaking, the Roman Empire was largely an agricultural society, Probus endeavored to redeem the abandoned farms—in some provinces enormous tracts were vacant— by settling broken freemen upon them as *coloni*. These settlers were supplemented by the introduction of thousands of peaceful Germans, among whom tens of thousands of acres of waste lands were distributed. These German settlers were called *læti*, and both classes, *coloni* and *læti*, contributed to the formation of the late Roman and medieval servile classes. Probus tried to promote viticulture in Gaul and Spain by abolishing the tariff upon wine and olives imported into Italy—a tariff that for centuries had protected the rich patrician and Latin landowners from the competition of the provinces. He employed the soldiers in digging a canal to drain the marshes around Sirmium in order to promote wheat-raising; he endeavored to reforest the denuded mountain slopes in Italy and Gaul. But by this time the army was too much out of hand, having been corrupted through donatives and bribes too many times by ambitious upstarts, whether revolted legionary commanders or provincial "tyrants" or rich senators who aspired to be emperor. The result was that the soldiers mutinied and slew Probus, who in 281, the quietest year in the later history of the Roman Empire, had dreamed of a day when the army would not be necessary.

To these untoward internal conditions must be added occasional barbarian inroads across the frontiers. The history of the German migrations will be considered in detail in chapter iii. At present it is only necessary to notice a few important facts. The Marcomanni and

the Quadi, whom Marcus Aurelius resisted in Pannonia for fourteen years (166–80), were cravenly bought off by his infamous son Commodus. Caracalla warred unsuccessfully with the Goths in Dacia. *First barba-* The Franks raided the lower Rhinelands in 235; and in 251 Decius *rian inroads* was killed in Mœsia, which the Goths, having overrun Dacia, invaded, not to be driven out until the great victory of Claudius over them in 268. In 270 the Alemanni burst through Rhætia and the Alpine passes into northern Italy, but were driven back by Aurelian in a fierce battle on the Metaurus. This emperor in 275 made a virtue of necessity and renounced Dacia to the Goths, who occupied it. Probus drove back hordes of Franks, Burgundians, Alemanni and Vandals from Gaul. In the reign of Valerian foraying bands of nomadic Berbers, Numidians and Moors dwelling on the desert edge of Roman Africa raided the province time and again and sacked the towns and great rural estates almost with impunity. A strange barbarian host, known as the Alani, rounded the Caucasus from Asia and invaded Asia Minor.

In addition there was the menace of Persia. As Rome grew weaker, Persia grew bolder. The old Parthian monarchy was overthrown *Persia* in 226, and the new Sassanid dynasty became very aggressive. From 233 to 249 Armenia, Mesopotamia and Syria were constantly threatened; in 260 Valerian was defeated and captured at Edessa, to die a prisoner of Artaxerxes. Aurelian partly redressed this disgrace by defeating Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra, and fortifying this outpost in the Far East against the Persians. But in 283 the Emperor Carus's successful campaign, in which he took Ctesiphon, the Persian capital, was ended when he was killed by lightning, and his troops fled home in consternation.

In 284 the Roman Empire seemed not far from dissolution. Suddenly a man appeared whose tremendous and energetic reforms gave the Empire a long lease of new life. This was Diocletian (284– *Diocletian* 305), the greatest of the Illyrian emperors. Though, like so many *(284–305)* of his predecessors, Diocletian was a "barrack emperor," he speedily mastered the army. He began by suppressing the Bagaudæ in Gaul (284); later he crushed a rebellion in Egypt and another in Africa, subjugated a pretender in Britain, and checked the barbarians along the Rhine and Danube. In 297 he launched a strong offensive against Persia, recovered Mesopotamia (which was not lost again until

363), and extended the Roman frontier once more to the Tigris. Except for the loss of Dacia and the Decuman Fields, the Roman Empire was again as large in area as it had been in 117.

Administrative reforms

These services of Diocletian, however, were as nothing compared with his administrative reforms. He was the first emperor able to grasp the nature and magnitude of the problem in its entirety and courageous enough to undertake its solution. So important were these reforms that they must be dealt with in some detail.

Diocletian had the statesmanship to realize that the true center of the Roman world was not in the West, but in the East, where the provinces were richer, the population denser and more skilled, whether farmers, merchants, or artisans. He anticipated the founding of Constantinople in 330 by establishing the new capital of the Empire at Nicomedia in Bithynia (Asia Minor). Further, as if to fill the cup of Italian and Latin humiliation, Diocletian also dared to remove the capital of Italy from Rome to Milan. His motive was wholly military; for Milan commanded every important Alpine pass except the Brenner, to which Verona was the key; so that troops could be readily thrown into Gaul or Germany, as the need might be, in event of barbarian invasion or provincial insurrection.

Prefectures

This change of the capital of the Roman world was accompanied by radical administrative reorganization. Perceiving the evil arising from the multiplication of the provinces, and the centrifugal effect of that multiplication, Diocletian sought to bind the provinces together. To this end he divided the whole Empire into four prefectures, each under an imperial prefect, who was practically a co-emperor. These prefectures were: (1) the Prefecture of Gaul, including Britain, Gaul, the Rhinelands, Spain, and the opposite African coast (modern Morocco), with its capital at Augusta Trevirorum (Trier or Trèves), again a strategic place for operations along the Rhine; (2) the Prefecture of Italy (capital, Milan), including the provinces in Africa from the Atlas to the Libyan desert, Italy, the provinces of the Danube above the bend, and Dalmatia; (3) the Prefecture of Illyricum (capital, Sirmium), which included Upper Mœsia, Macedonia, Epirus, and Thessaly (Greece), but did not comprehend Lower Mœsia and Thrace (that is, the tip of the Balkan Peninsula); these were included in (4) the Prefecture of the Orient

(capital, Nicomedia), comprising, besides the two provinces in Europe just mentioned, all Asia Minor, Armenia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Palestine, Cyrenaica, and Egypt. The immediate government of this prefecture Diocletian significantly took for himself, thus showing that he regarded the Greco-Oriental countries as the heart of the Roman Empire. Over each of the prefectures was a prefect, a co-regent with Diocletian. Two of these prefects were entitled *augustus* and two *cæsar*—names oddly significant of the establishment of the Roman Empire and now become princely titles. These prefectures, in turn, were sub-divided into fourteen dioceses, composed of several *Dioceses* contiguous provinces under a vicar. The Church later borrowed both of these administrative terms. Thus, provincial governors were responsible to vicars, vicars to prefects, and the prefects themselves to Diocletian, who was both a prefect and emperor. By these drastic reforms the great Illyrian undoubtedly intended to make administration speedier and more effective, and at the same time to put an end to those baneful local forces which had almost disrupted the Empire in the third century.

Reorganization of the taxes soon followed. A vast survey was made of all the landed property of the Empire, a sort of Roman Domesday Book, upon which a new system of taxation was based in spite of the vehement protests of the rich landed proprietary class. Diocletian also reformed the coinage, but was unable to establish a gold standard. Finally this energetic Emperor issued a maximum law to protect the poor—and even the government—against inflated prices, especially of food-stuffs, hoarding of grain, cornering of wheat and impositions upon the government by grasping contractors.

At the same time Diocletian repudiated the long-established fiction that the Roman Empire owed anything to republican tradition. Previously it had been an imperial monarchy preserving reminiscences of ancient republicanism, at least in form. He boldly ended this fiction and made the Empire in law and in fact what it had been steadily becoming—an absolute monarchy. The prætorians were reduced to nothing but an urban guard in the city of Rome. The consuls became mere titular dignitaries. The senate was so far ignored that of some twelve hundred rescripts issued in these years, not one appears to have emanated from that body. Diocletian's

legislative energy rivaled his political and military activity. The *Gregorian Code,* a predecessor of the greater *Theodosian Code* of the fifth century, was due to him.

The type of government adopted was modeled on the great oriental monarchy of Persia. Ever since Rome had set foot in the countries of the Levant, the oriental influences had steadily penetrated into the Roman Empire. In the third century, especially in the time of the two Syrian emperors Elagabalus and Alexander Severus (218–35), and again during the reign of Aurelian (270–75), who had conquered Zenobia, the Queen of Palmyra, Eastern influence was particularly strong. In Diocletian's prefectural and diocesan reorganization of the imperial administrative system we can find an analogy with the Persian satrapy system, described so graphically in the Book of Esther. The Sassanid state was "the precedent and in every respect the model of Diocletian's administrative reforms." But nowhere was this orientalism more evident than in the court that Diocletian established at Nicomedia. Here Diocletian erected a vast palace, standing in an immense park or "paradise" (the very word is of Persian origin), like the palaces of the Persian rulers. This palace of Nicomedia was the capital of the Roman Empire. In the Book of Dignities (*Notitia Dignitatum*), or Red Book, we may see in detail the hierarchic and bureaucratic structure of the imperial administration, the oriental pomp and ceremonial, the impressive etiquette, of the new court instituted by Diocletian. A new official nobility of graduated ranks—*illustres, clarissimi, clariores, clari* and *spectabiles* displaced the members of the old Roman aristocracy, who were completely supplanted in office and thenceforth lived in retirement upon their scattered patrimonies. A sharp differentiation of executive responsibility and a clear delegation of executive authority are evident in the carefully defined duties of the chief state officials. Nearest to the person of the emperor stood the grand chamberlain or provost of the sacred bed-chamber, followed by the master of the offices or chancellor, who was chief judicial officer and minister of foreign affairs; the quæstor of the sacred palace, the organ of imperial legislation; the count of the sacred largesses or minister of the treasury; the master of the privy purse, who controlled the management of the imperial crownlands; and two counts of the domestic troops, who commanded the cavalry

Oriental influences

and infantry body-guards of the emperor. In addition was a swarm of lesser officials, civil and military, each minister having a large and separate staff. The highest rank was composed of the *illustres* and grades of that dignity; next were the *clarissimi* and its degrees; lastly, the *spectabiles*. One may perhaps translate these terms by "worshipful," "very worshipful," "most worshipful"; "most honorable," "very honorable," "right honorable," and "eminent." Functions that pertained to the person of the emperor were called "sacred," and his person was alluded to as "the Presence."

Never, not even in Persia or China, did greater divinity surround royalty than in Nicomedia and later in Constantinople. The awful influence of the Presence permeated not only the court and the capital, but the whole Empire. The emperor was a god and moved as an absolute sovereign reigning by divine right. On state occasions he was attired in silken robes of blue and gold symbolizing the sky and the sun; his hair was dressed to imitate the sun and sprinkled with gold; upon his head rested a jeweled tiara; a collar of pearls was around his neck; over his breast flowed necklaces of rubies and emeralds; his hands were encrusted with rings flashing with precious stones; his finger-nails were gilded; his shoes were of red Persian leather with golden soles. In his hand he carried a scepter that terminated in a gold ball typifying the globe and was tipped with a gold eagle in whose talons was a splendid blue sapphire, again symbolic of the blue of heaven. The throne was an exquisite piece of workmanship in carved precious wood, inlaid with mother of pearl and lapis lazuli—again the color of blue—standing upon a dais covered with rare rugs and carpets and having suspended over it a great blue silk canopy representative of heaven. The adornment of the throne-room suited the magnificence of the imperial Presence. When the emperor entered, preceded by lackeys perfuming the air with attar of roses, by fan-bearers carrying ostrich and peacock feather fans, and the usher of the gold rod, every person in the throne-room sank to the floor in true oriental obeisance and remained prostrate until the Sacred Presence was seated. One may imagine the tremendously impressive effect of such magnificence. Such pomp and ceremony must often have been distasteful to Diocletian. The veteran soldier must frequently have remembered how, with his old blue army mantle about him, he had slept on the

ground among his fellow soldiers. But he knew that most men are ruled by outward signs of power. Throughout the third century the person of the emperor had continually been exposed to the world, and familiarity had bred contempt; many of the emperors had been assassinated. There was need to restore the awe and the majesty of the imperial office and to protect the person of the emperor from licentious soldiery, just as there was need of reforming the administration. Indeed, the orientalization of the government and of the court was simply a part of one great system of imperial reorganization.

But we have not yet reached the end of Diocletian's series of reforms. He also planned to establish—and for the first time—a definite law of succession to the imperial authority. To this end it was provided that of the four prefects who formed, as it were, an imperial college, the two *augusti* (at first, Diocletian himself and his old comrade-in-arms Maximian) should retire at the end of twenty years, when the two junior prefects, called *cæsars*, were to become *augusti* and, in turn, associate two new *cæsars* with them in office. This was the one reform of Diocletian that proved impracticable from the beginning. True to his word, Diocletian abdicated in 305 and retired to private life at Spalatro in his native Dalmatia. There he built himself a magnificent palace, the dimensions of which we may conjecture when we read that the modern town of Spalatro dwells within its walls.

But excellent and needful and effective as most of these reforms were, nevertheless they had certain adverse effects. The greatest of these was the enormous cost of maintaining such magnificence. The burden of augmenting taxation, growing impoverishment, increased social strain, was already serious in the third century. The reforms, while some of them introduced juster and more effective methods, at the same time imposed a new and heavier fiscal burden upon the population of the Roman Empire. Again, the excessive centralization seems to have throttled almost the last vestiges of local political life. The reforms were too much in the nature of mechanical administrative changes. Not one of them went to the root of the organic political, economic and social malady from which the Empire was suffering and slowly dying. Yet it would be unjust to depreciate Diocletian's work; for while the western half of the

Roman Empire continued slowly to disintegrate and dissolve, the eastern half entered upon a new lease of life, sometimes a vigorous one. In the form of the Eastern Roman or Byzantine Empire it survived throughout the Middle Ages and was not finally destroyed until the time of the Ottoman Turks in 1453. As much as of any of the great makers of history, it may be said of Diocletian that he remade and refounded the Roman Empire. The fact that the Greco-Oriental portion survived, while the western and Latin portion gradually faded away and at last perished, was due to the great difference between them in historic condition, in social and psychological elements, in economic ingredients. Naturally the whole process of orientalization was more effective in the eastern countries of the Roman world, which understood it better and tolerated it more readily.

When Diocletian abdicated, he obliged Maximian, the suppressor of the African rebellion in 296 and prefect of Africa and Italy, to retire with him, much against his wish, while Galerius, the hero of the Persian war in 297, was raised to the rank of *augustus* along with Constantius, who had crushed revolt in Britain. These three were jealous rivals for military and political honors. But rivalry became enmity when Galerius persuaded Diocletian to pass over the claims of Constantine, son of Constantius Chlorus, and of Maxentius, son of Maximian, to be made *cæsars,* and made Severus and Maximinus, a nephew of Galerius, *cæsars.*

From his retirement at Spalatro, Diocletian watched and perhaps cynically philosophized upon the course of events in the years 305–13. He lived long enough to see Constantine, the son of Constantius Chlorus, his prefect of Gaul, Spain and Britain, and comrade of his old army days, rend the successory regulation to fragments and officially recognize the Church that he had persecuted.

Civil war broke out in 306 and continued for the ensuing seventeen years. *Civil war (306–23)*

In the tangled politics and confused fighting the important thing is the emerging figure of Constantine. Like so many of his predecessors, Constantine was of Illyrian birth. His father, Constantius Chlorus, belonged to the family of Claudius II, surnamed "Gothicus" because of his great victory over the Goths at Naissus (modern Nish, in Serbia) in 268. His mother, the famous Helena, was the *Rise of Constantin*

daughter of an innkeeper in Nish. When his father died, at Eboracum (York) in Britain in 306, Constantine's soldiers acclaimed him emperor, although at the time he was only one of many aspirants to the throne. For nearly five years (306–11) Constantine contented himself with ruling the western prefecture, astutely allowing the other rivals to exhaust themselves in conflict. In 311, when Galerius died, Constantine, deeming the time favorable, invaded Italy. Italy was the principal battle-ground between Constantine and Maxentius, *Battle of* while east of the Adriatic Licinius and Maximin were fighting for *the Milvian* supremacy. The great victory of Constantine at the Milvian Bridge, *Bridge* where Christian legend says that he saw the sign in the sky (*"In hoc signo vinces"*), and the death of Maxentius by drowning as he attempted to cross the Tiber, made Constantine master of the West. Thereupon Licinius and Maximin formed an alliance. The death of the latter soon afterwards left Licinius sole master in the East. The East and the West, the Latin and the Greco-Oriental halves of the Roman Empire, were pitted against each other in a gigantic duel. Sure of his control of the western provinces Constantine advanced into the Balkan peninsula. Licinius was beaten in battle at Cibalis, located at the confluence of the Sava with the Danube, and retreated into Thrace. A second engagement at Mardia was indecisive, and in 315 a treaty was made by which Licinius sacrificed Greece, Macedonia, and the lower Danubian provinces except Mœsia. Constantine spent the next eight years in organizing the government of his widened dominions, which now included almost everything west of the Hellespont. War was resumed in 323. Licinius was beaten at Adrianople in July and at Chalcedon in September and surrendered to Constantine, who first imprisoned him at Thessalonica (or Salonika), but soon afterwards put him to death. By 323 the Roman Empire was once more united, now under the rule of Constantine the Great.

We shall reserve consideration of Constantine's ecclesiastical policy for the next chapter and deal here only with his secular achieve-*Reforms of* ments. His administrative work followed closely the lines laid down *Constantine* by Diocletian; indeed, so intimately related are these two emperors in this particular that it is not always possible to distinguish their work apart. The reorganization of the army was certainly due to him. The legions were reduced from six thousand to fifteen hundred

men. More important than this change was the fact that Constantine opened the legions wide to German recruits. Constantine was an energetic law-maker. The plenary powers now enjoyed by the emperors tempted them to take cognizance of everything and to legislate concerning everything. Eutropius, a Christian historian who wrote an unusually clear and impartial work in the reign of Valens, says that a large part of Constantine's legislation was superfluous and that some of his laws were cruel. There is much in his character and conduct to sustain this accusation. He once exclaimed in reply to such criticism: "Do you think this is an age of gold? Well, it is not. It is a new Neronian epoch." The intrigues and murders in his own family give that impression. By his first wife the emperor had a son named Crispus, who took a brilliant part in his German wars and against Licinius, and whom his father made a *cæsar*. But Fausta, his second wife, was jealous for her children. It is impossible to ascertain the truth of the suspicions and accusations alleged by contemporary writers, for the history of the reign abounds with flattery and adulation or else is filled with detraction. But Crispus and some of his friends were put to death by Constantine, and further tragedy followed. The empress-mother Helena hated Fausta and accused her of infidelity, and Fausta was smothered to death in a bath. Even Eusebius, the first great church historian, whose praise of Constantine is transparent flattery, says that he was violent and avaricious and that hypocrisy reigned in his court. Christian and pagan writers agree that he was wasteful of public moneys and that peculation and graft were rife in the offices of government.

It is questionable whether Constantine was an able administrator. He increased the *sordida munera* (corvées or forced services) exacted for the upkeep of roads, maintenance of the post, and construction of public improvements; he raised the *portoria* or interprovincial tolls collected from commercial commodities to a flat rate of twelve and a half per cent, whereas previously these had ranged from two and a half to five per cent, except for luxuries imported from the Far East; he reduced the industrial class of the population to serfdom by making manual arts and crafts hereditary; he penalized municipal tax-collectors who were unable to collect the amount of taxes imposed by government upon towns; he drastically legislated to restrain small farmers who had fallen into debt owing to

excessive taxes and high prices from removing to other provinces, where economic conditions, perhaps, might have been less severe, and in this wise he accelerated the reduction of the rural free class to serfdom.

But there can be no doubt that Constantine had statesmanlike ideas. The founding of Constantinople, though long foreshadowed by events, was his act. His removal of the capital of the Roman Empire from the Tiber to the Bosphorus (330) showed that he had a clear understanding of the condition of the Roman world, and the courage to execute his determination. Nothing was spared to make the new Rome rival the old Rome. Without Constantinople the history of Europe for the next thousand years and more would have been very different. The papacy would not have risen to the height that it reached in the Middle Ages, and eastern Europe would have had no bulwark against the Mohammedans. Without Constantinople to preserve Hellenic civilization and to become the repository of Greek learning and literature, probably the later invasions of the Slavs into the Balkan peninsula would have swamped Hellenic culture and left us today with even more fragmentary remains of Hellenism than we have.

Violence and tragedy continued to dog Constantine's descendants after his death in 337. His three sons, Constantine II, Constantius, and Constans, divided the Empire into three prefectures between them. The first received the West: Italy, Gaul, Britain, Spain and the western part of Africa; the second took the Orient; the third, the Balkans, Greece and Africa west of Egypt. Constantine tried to wrest Italy from his brother and was killed in battle at Aquileia; Constantius warred long and ineffectively against the Persians. In 350 Constans died and Constantius united the whole Empire. But the western provinces chafed under his rule, and when he died in 361 the Gallic legions set up his cousin Julian as emperor. Julian's espousal of paganism must not prejudice us against his merits; for in ability and, above all, in integrity he was the ablest of all the princes of the house of Constantine. His government of Gaul was singularly honest and intelligent, and in spite of his studious ways and his passion for Greek culture he was a good soldier. As prefect, he signally defeated the Franks and Alemanni on the Rhine. But his reign was to no lasting end; for in 363 he was killed by a Persian arrow before

Julian
(361–63)

Ctesiphon. Jovian (363–4), the ranking general of the Roman army, succeeded, and promptly purchased peace from the Persians by the cession of Mesopotamia and restored to the Church the privileges of which Julian had deprived it.

When Jovian died, within a year, the Asian legions stationed at Nicæa set up Valentinian I (364–75) as emperor. He was a Pannonian by birth, a rough but energetic soldier, a former tribune of *Valentinian I* the *scutarii*, whom Julian had deposed for his obdurate Christianity. *(364–75)* He left the government of the East to his brother Valens and established himself in Milan, whence he could watch the Rhine and Danube frontiers, these now strongly beset by the Franks, the Alemanni, and the Quadi. But there were other points of danger also in the West. The Picts and Scots of Caledonia were harrying the north of Britain. The emperor sent thither his best general, the Spaniard Theodosius, who drove out the Picts and Scots in a three years' campaign (367–70) which Kipling has immortalized in *Puck of Pook's Hill.* Immediately afterwards the half-Romanized Moorish chieftain Firmus rebelled in Mauretania, and Theodosius spent three more strenuous years in Africa (370–3). Meanwhile Valentinian himself saw hard fighting on the Rhine. The Franks and Saxons were pressing hard upon the lower course of the river. But the greatest danger was from the Alemanni, who had overrun the Decuman Fields and invaded Alsace. In 368 the emperor defeated them near Strassburg, drove them across the Rhine, and recovered the Decuman Fields, which he protected by new fortifications (374). He then returned to his native province of Pannonia, repulsed an invasion of the Quadi, and died as the Quadi were suing for peace (375).

Valentinian I's death may be regarded as a turning-point in history. From that year events moved rapidly in a new direction. The Huns emerged from Asia and fell upon the Gothic kingdom in Dacia and destroyed it; the West Goths entered the Roman Empire to seek its protection, and they and other barbarians soon became its masters. Simultaneously under Theodosius (378–95) the Church was enormously increased in political power and wealth, all pagan cults were proscribed, and Christianity was made the state religion of the Roman Empire. The Germans and the Catholic clergy held in their hands the fate of the coming years.

At the same time the whole complex of crippling internal conditions—administrative incapacity and corruption, burdensome taxation, social stress, growth of rural and industrial serfdom, decay of civic spirit and town life, increasing impoverishment of the poor and enrichment of the rich, abandonment of agriculture, decline of population—which the drastic reforms of Diocletian and Constantine had temporarily remedied, but which in some degree they had aggravated—became overwhelming in the fourth century. The Roman Empire was slowly perishing. Yet Rome persisted in living in spite of the many reasons why she should have perished. Ever since the second century at least—some historians think ever since the time of Augustus—Rome could no longer sustain its grandeur. Perhaps the constant effort to sustain its grandeur destroyed the Roman Empire. At the end of the fourth century one is standing on the threshold of the Middle Ages.

Volumes have been written on the decline of the Roman Empire. The problem defies all social calculus. One historian thinks that "the failure of the Roman Empire was, in the long run, a failure to solve the problem of the relations of the individual to the state." A second writer finds the chief root of the evil in the break-down of "the self-governing city system," to which a third rejoins that responsibility lies with "excessive urbanization," which broke down the integrity of the provincial administration and engendered antagonism between urban and rural classes, and urban and rural economic and social conditions. "Citizens from the cities began to seek opportunity of changing into peasants on the land." A fourth says that "the existence of two castes, one ever more oppressed, the other ever more idle . . . lay like an incubus on the Empire." A fifth discovers the most detrimental factor in the "rise of an aristocracy of great landholders, who were at the same time high officials in the administrative bureaucracy"—which is another way of saying that the free middle class in the towns and small free farmers were slowly reduced to servile tenantry on the immense estates of these proprietors. Was excessive taxation the cause of gradual decline? Or was growing impoverishment the reason why the taxation seemed excessive? Was "the root malady of the Roman Empire want of population"? Some historians look to slavery as the main cause of

the decline of the Empire, while others think that the growth of serfdom diluted the slave class and ameliorated its condition.

At every turn we are baffled by facts susceptible of divergent interpretation, by the difficulty of distinguishing between causes and effects; and we reflect that no government has ever succeeded in controlling either organic growth or organic decay in human society. Civilizations change and pass, and usually we are not even aware of the passing. The pagans called it Destiny or Fate; Christians call it Providence or the will of God. The historian frankly says that he does not understand; he can sometimes establish the facts, but the how and the why of things elude his analysis.

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CHAPTER II

THE CHURCH IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

THE word "church" occurs in only two passages in the Gospels, both times in Matthew. In the first it signifies a spiritual edifice; in the second, a local body of Christian believers. In the Acts, in the Epistles, and in the Apocalypse the word is used with three different meanings. For the word "church" was sometimes used in a mystical sense to signify the whole body of Christians in a spiritual capacity. The symbol of this union was the Eucharist or Lord's Supper.

Early church organization

Parallel with the development of the priestly office in the Church, the idea of catholicity also spread, stimulated by the conflict with heresy. The orthodox communities tended to fuse and to the attacks made upon them they opposed the unity of an entity which they called the Catholic Church. In the midst of a world that was pagan in religion, manners, and morals and was threatened by the secession of schismatics and heretics, the Church found safety under a monarchical

The laity excluded from church government

episcopate. The bishops became the authoritative leaders both in matters of belief and in matters of policy. In a word, the bishops constituted *the* Church. It was they who formulated dogma, who determined ecclesiastical polity, and Christianity became in fact the greatest of historical institutions.

The Church in the Roman Empire

Historically the Church had become a power in the Roman Empire before the German nations established themselves within it. Christianity had spread with remarkable rapidity over the Roman world. By the year 100 probably every province that bordered the Mediterranean had a Christian community within it, and in many provinces there were several congregations. The vertical expansion upward from the lowly classes who had been its first converts into the upper strata of Roman society seems also to have been rapid. Paul's words —and the Pauline epistles are the earliest texts—"not many wise, not many mighty, not many of noble birth" are the depreciation of humility and to some extent are contradicted by his own evidence else-

where. In Romans xvi, 23, he records that Erastus, the city treasurer of Corinth, was a believer; so was Sergius Paulus, proconsular governor of Cyprus. In Thessalonica "not a few women of good position" (Acts xiii, 7–12; xvii, 4) were Christians. It is almost certain that by the end of the first century Christianity had acquired a loose foothold among the Roman aristocracy. Flavia Domatilla, a granddaughter of the Emperor Vespasian, became a Christian, and probably her husband, Flavius Clemens, the consul A.D. 95, as well. Pliny Minor, governor of Bithynia under Trajan (98–117), informed the emperor that "many of all ranks" in the province were Christian, and Tacitus, writing at the same time, relates the conversion of Pomponia Græcina, "a distinguished lady." In the second century many members of the middle class were Christian, and in the third century many of the upper classes. The rescript of Valerian in the second persecution (258) was directed wholly against Christians of high social rank. Nevertheless, as a body the early Christians were drawn from the workaday industrial world. The upper classes in large numbers did not become Christian until the peace of the Church was established by Constantine in 313. *Expansion of Christianity*

Christianity in the first three centuries of its history was almost entirely an urban religion. Several factors conspired to promote the rapid dissemination of Christianity within the Empire. The great road-system of the Romans, the uniform public security, the widespread commerce, the prevalence of the Latin language in the West and of the Greek language in the East, made possible an extraordinarily rapid growth of Christianity in far-distant places. The last stand of paganism was made in the remote rural districts. As the Roman Empire was a consolidation of city-states, so Christianity was a federation of urban congregations. Roman municipal life very early in the history of Christianity put its stamp upon the organization of the Church and influenced its polity. The primacy of the chief cities is an important fact. The *civitas*—the chief city in each province—was the seat of a bishop, and the first dioceses were identical with the provinces. The cult of the emperor, which was the official religion of the State, in like manner had its influence upon early church organization. Wherever there was a *flamen civitatis*, or state priest, there arose a bishop. Similarly, as the Church developed its hierarchy, the gradations of the clergy reflected the imperial *Christianity an urban religion at first*

hierarchy of the Roman government. At the end of the fourth century (392), when Christianity was made the state religion of the Roman Empire, the bishops were regarded with more respect than were the governors of the provinces.

The failure of the last great persecution under Diocletian (303) made religious toleration inevitable. It was merely a question of time and circumstance, and both of these factors favored Christianity. The initiative was taken by Galerius, who shortly before his death, in 311,

Failure of the persecutions

revoked the edict of persecution in the provinces under his sway, in the throes of the civil war which followed the abdication of Diocletian. The suggestion was not lost upon Constantine. Until that time, like his father before him, he had been only negatively tolerant, in that he had refused to enforce the edict of persecution in his dominions; but after his victory over Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge, Constantine issued the famous Edict of Milan (313). Like that of Galerius, it was at first nothing but a military measure; for it was not

Edict of Milan (313)

general and could not be made general until Constantine became master of the whole Roman world. Licinius shortly tolerated Christianity in his provinces, and Maximin Daza, who had succeeded his uncle Galerius, did not dare refuse to do so, although secretly he encouraged the municipalities against the Christians in their midst.

Whether it was conscience or policy that most influenced Constantine in the eventually momentous step he took is a much debated

Policy of Constantine

question, and one which seems insoluble. The Christians at this time probably did not number more than one-tenth of the population of the whole Roman Empire, from which it has been rashly argued that Constantine must have been moved by conscience. But a little reflection would seem to indicate that policy was not a stranger to Constantine's course. The Christian population was much denser in the eastern provinces of the Empire than in the western, and, having beaten Maxentius in Italy and thereby made himself master of the whole West, Constantine was on the point of carrying the war into the East. He may already have learned that Galerius's revocation of the edict of persecution two years before had not offended the pagan population there and, on the other hand, had rallied Christian support to him in the strife with his rivals. What would have been more natural for him, then, than to extend the Edict of Milan into the

East with the advance of his armies, until with the fall of Licinius he was undisputed ruler of the Roman Empire?

Legally speaking, the Edict of Milan in 313 simply put Christianity upon a par with the other religions in the Roman Empire. In a word, it made Christianity a *religio licita,* or legalized religion, and the government assured protection of life and property to Christians as to all other worshipers, of whatever religion they might be. The policy of Constantine, it would seem, was less a change of heart than a change in mental attitude. He recognized the futility of persecution and the expediency of toleration. If he could attach the Christians to him and at the same time not alienate the pagans, he had the game in his hands. "Our information is exceptionally bad," the greatest of all historians of the early Church has written, *"and not from accident,* as to the internal state of the Church when Constantine chose it to be the support of the Empire." [1] The currents of politics and religion were devious and turbid at this time. The pagans and both Christian parties, Arians and Athanasians, were playing each to win as much as possible from, and to concede as little as possible to, its rivals. In these circumstances Constantine was a magnificent opportunist, aiming to conciliate all and to antagonize none. The Christian doctrine that civil authority emanated from a supreme and omnipotent God accorded with the emperor's absolutistic inclinations. But at the same time he hesitated to repudiate the state religion and abandon the time-honored worship of the emperor, whose peculiar blend of religion and patriotism had been one of the great sources of imperial power. Yet while the imperial cultus in a measure was an expression of universalism, it fell short of that universalism of which Christianity dreamed. Since the beginning of the third century the Roman Empire had exhibited alarming evidences of sectionalism and separation, of which secession movements in the provinces were recurring symptoms. Constantine may have cherished the hope that Christianity would overcome these divisive forces.

Was Constantine a Christian?

Constantine seems to have resolved to build his power on the three forces represented by the imperial cultus and the two chief forms of Christianity and to have regarded lesser sects of Christians and other pagan religions as of secondary importance—or, in other words, to

[1] HARNACK, *History of Dogma,* III, 131.

maintain the parity of these three both as religious and as political forces. An analysis of his policy confirms this interpretation. The ancient cult preserved its official position, its temples, its ceremonies; like his predecessors, Constantine retained the title of *pontifex maximus*. At his court bishops and priests of the rival Christian sects mingled with pagan priests and pagan philosophers; the high offices of state were filled impartially by pagans and Christians; divine honors were accorded him as *Divus Imperator*; his coinage and insignia associated pagan and Christian symbols; Constantine venerated the Star of Bethlehem and also the Sun; the words *"sol invictus"* were stamped on his coins; a temple was dedicated to "the divinity of Constantine."

The question is much open to doubt whether Constantine was ever more than a "political" Christian. As for his private life, the execution—not to say murder—of his own son and his wife indicates that he was untouched by any spiritual influence in Christianity. To the end of his life he was a pagan to the pagans, a Christian of one stripe or the other to the Christians. He never broke with the tradition of the Roman religion. He built a temple to Castor and Pollux in Constantinople and others elsewhere. For the cult of his own family, the *gens Flavia*, he founded temples in Italy and other provinces and to them attached priests. As he recognized the unifying principle in the cult of the emperor, so Constantine perceived the unifying principle in Christian universalism and did his best, without offending either, to reconcile Athanasians and Arians. The former were strong in the West, the latter in the East. Constantine strove to compose the difference between them in the interest of imperial unity.

Doctrinal controversy bulks large in the early history of the Church. For the most part these controversies are fortunately too remote from the ordinary course of historical events to require treatment. *Doctrinal* But when doctrine involved polity, as it did in the fourth and fifth *controversies* centuries, some historical explanation becomes necessary. In the fourth century theology was a universal subject of discussion, sometimes ridiculously so. Gregory of Nyssa (one wonders if he wrote with his tongue in his cheek) in one of his letters says of Constantinople:

"This city is full of mechanics and slaves who are all of them profound theologians and preach in the shops and the streets. If you

want a man to change a piece of silver, he tells you in what way the Son differs from the Father; if you ask the price of a loaf of bread, you are told by way of reply that the Son is inferior to the Father; and if you inquire whether the bath is ready, the answer is that the Son was made of nothing."

Two groups of theologians were of such wide influence that practically they split Christianity into two camps, which were theological and political rivals for two centuries. These were the "orthodox" group led by Athanasius, an archdeacon of the church in Alexandria, and the Arians, so called from Arius, a deacon in the same church. Both Athanasius and Arius were acute speculative theologians. The Athanasians were doctrinally trinitarians; the Arians, unitarians. The Greek words *homoousios*, meaning "of the same substance," and *homoiousios*, meaning "of similar substance," involved the question whether Christ was of the same substance with the Godhead, or of similar substance. The cultural cleavage between the two groups was of historical significance. The Latin West was solidly Athanasian, the Hellenized East largely Arian, in belief. Moreover, the *literati* and philosophical class were chiefly Arian, while the middle and lower classes, from which most of the bishops were drawn, were trinitarian in sentiment.

Constantine intervened and summoned the First Ecumenical Council of Nicæa (325), which convened in the oratory of the imperial palace. Although he was still unbaptized, the emperor himself *Council of* presided over it. Anathema was pronounced against the Arians. Arius *Nicæa, 325* was exiled to Illyria, his writings were seized by the magistrates and burned, and the death penalty was decreed against anyone who secretly possessed any of his books. All Arian "heretics" were declared excluded from privileges enjoyed by the Christian clergy. Arianism seemed a lost cause. Orthodoxy, ecclesiastical and imperial, seemed triumphant.

But within the next five years Arius was recalled from exile (328). We can explain Constantine's change in attitude by his removal of the capital of the Roman Empire in 330 from Rome to Constantinople. As we have said, the eastern provinces were Arian, and the ever politic Constantine wished to identify his government with the pre- *Arian* vailing religious sect. As long as his power reposed upon the Latin *restoration*
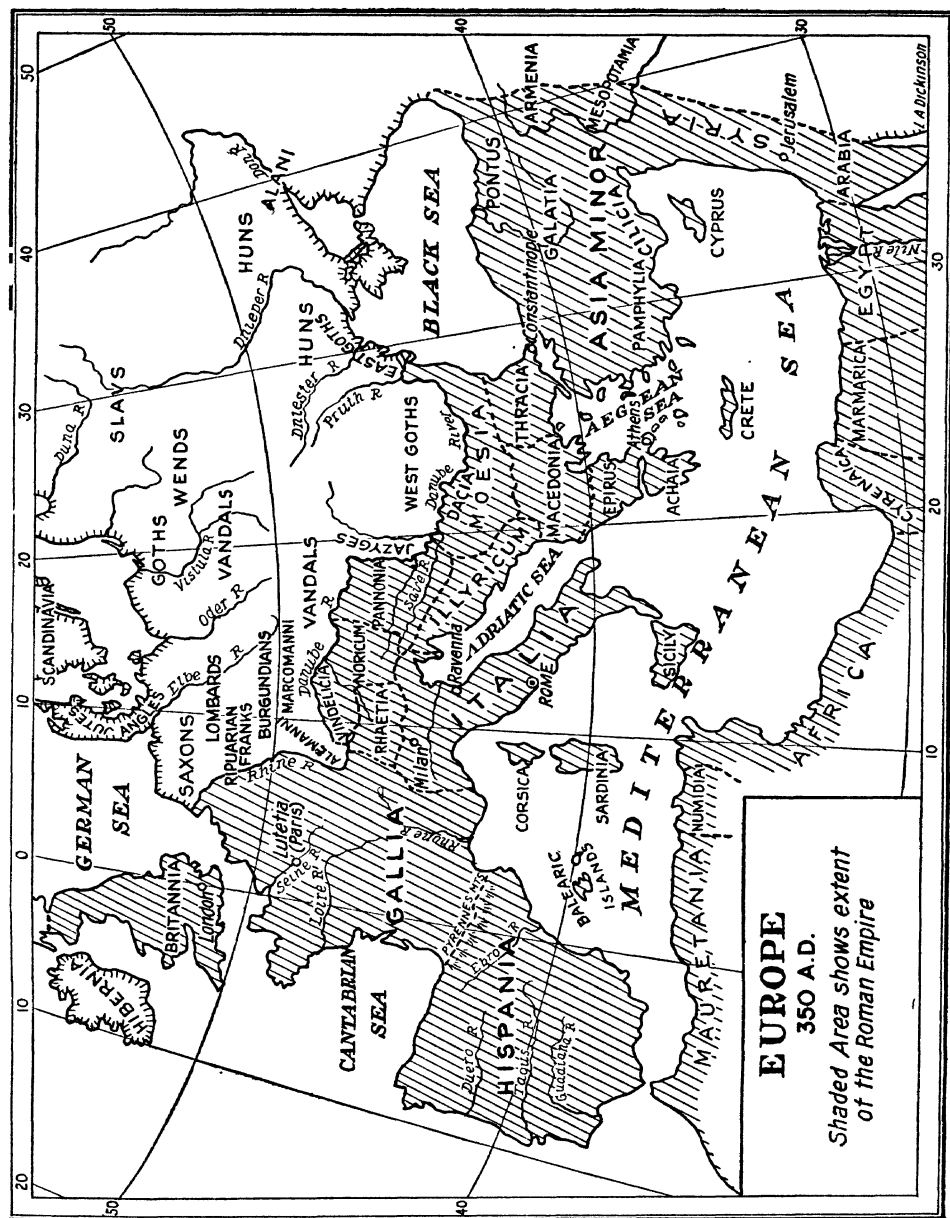
West, he had been orthodox. When he moved the seat of that power to the Greek and orientalized East, his sympathy moved too. The time of Arian reprisal had come. The Council of Tyre (334) took the offensive against its late enemies. At the dedication of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, which Constantine and his mother Helena had built, the excommunication of Arius and his adherents was dissolved and an imperial letter made public which undid the work of the Council of Nicæa. In the next year (335) Athanasius was deposed and exiled to Trèves in Gaul. In 336 Arius died suddenly in Constantinople on the eve of the day on which he was to be restored to holy orders. His enemies looked upon his death as an act of God; his partisans declared that he was poisoned. In 337 Constantine died, after having been baptized by his quondam enemy Eusebius of Nicæa, in the Arian faith.

Death of Constantine 337

Before his death Constantine divided the Empire among his three sons. Constantine II was given the West, Constantius received the East, and Constans was given the prefecture of Illyricum, with that part of Africa lying between Egypt and Morocco. Constantius, who got the best portion, favored the Arians; accordingly his two brothers, sought partisans among the orthodox clergy. The papacy now, and the Latin Church of the West, became the champions of orthodoxy. Though the break was not made formal until 1054, this is the moment when the Church practically split into its two great medieval and modern parts, the Latin West and the Greek East. And permanently from this time on, western doctrine implied the polity of the papacy. Until this time the West had not taken part in the controversy over Arianism. But the death of Constantine II, in 340, narrowed the political rivalry to Constans and Constantius. Profiting by the war with the Persians, in which his brother Constantius was involved, Constans, who wanted to enlarge his dominion, recalled Athanasius from Trèves and had him triumphantly reinstated in Alexandria. Constantius was compelled to yield, though soon afterwards he attacked Constans, who was killed before Aquileia.

In 350 the Roman Empire was again under one emperor. Constantius was devoted to Arianism, now the most widespread and most popularly recognized faith throughout the Greco-Oriental East, and determined to force it upon the western provinces. By 360 the victory

EUROPE
350 A.D.

Shaded Area shows extent of the Roman Empire

L.A.Dickinson

GERMAN SEA

CANTABRIAN SEA

BLACK SEA

MEDITERRANEAN SEA

ADRIATIC SEA

AEGEAN SEA

HIBERNIA

BRITANNIA

London

SCANDINAVIA

JUTES

ANGLES

SAXONS

LOMBARDS

FRANKS

RIPUARIAN

BURGUNDIANS

ALEMANNI

MARCOMANNI

SLAVS

WENDS

GOTHS

VANDALS

HUNS

ALANI

WEST GOTHS

EAST GOTHS

JAZYGES

VANDALS

NORICUM

PANNONIA

RHAETIA

VINDELICIA

GALLIA

Lutetia (Paris)

HISPANIA

CORSICA

SARDINIA

SICILY

BALEARIC ISLANDS

ITALIA

Rome

Ravenna

Milan

DALMATIA

ILLYRICUM

DACIA

MOESIA

THRACIA

Constantinople

MACEDONIA

EPIRUS

ACHAIA

Athens

CRETE

CYPRUS

ASIA MINOR

PONTUS

GALATIA

ARMENIA

MESOPOTAMIA

CAPPADOCIA

CILICIA

PAMPHYLIA

SYRIA

Jerusalem

ARABIA

EGYPT

CYRENAICA

MARMARICA

AFRICA

NUMIDIA

MAURETANIA

Danube River

Rhine R.

Elbe

Oder R.

Vistula R.

Dnieper R.

Dniester R.

Pruth R.

Theiss R.

Save R.

Seine R.

Loire R.

Rhone R.

Ebro

Duero R.

Tagus R.

Guadiana R.

Nile R.

PYRENEES MTS.

ALPS

of Arianism in the whole Roman Empire seemed almost complete.

But in 361 Constantius died and was succeeded by the pagan reactionary Julian (361–3). In the face of his hostility the warring factions partially forgot their grievances. Jovian's brief reign of seven months restored to the clergy the privileges of which Julian had deprived them. When he died, in 364, the rough, orthodox soldier Valentinian I (364–75) ruled the West, his weaker and Arian brother *Triumph* the East. And yet, while Arianism seemed to be triumphant in the *of orthodoxy* East, two forces turned the scale against it even there. One of these was the entrance of the Goths, who were Arian Christians, into the Empire. In face of the German invasion Arianism could not withstand the charge made against it that it was unpatriotic and an undermining political factor. The other force was monasticism, a movement never tinctured with heresy. Monkish zeal for orthodoxy, which sometimes culminated in violent popular agitation, ultimately ruined Arianism and compelled the emperors of the East to advocate the orthodox theology.

From this consideration of Christian doctrine we may now return to the institutional history of the Church and trace its progressive development to its complete triumph when Theodosius I proscribed paganism and every form of heretical belief, made orthodox Christianity the state religion of the Roman Empire, and created the dual organism Church and State.

Decline of   Until 337, whatever his own private conviction, Constantine had *paganism* maintained the parity of paganism and Christianity. Not so his sons, who began a policy of persecution of paganism, advocating confiscation of the landed endowments of the temples, spoliation of their rich adornments, the melting down of the gold figures of gods and goddesses within them. In 341 the three emperors prohibited pagan sacrifice. Five years later all temples were ordered to be closed and sacrifices were forbidden on pain of death. But for Christian fanaticism and intolerance, the rival religions might have become accustomed to one another, and paganism would probably have slowly faded out of a world it could no longer influence. Christianity then, without violence, would have possessed Europe.

It is this consideration that gives dignity to the policy of Emperor Julian (361–3). Fortunately for historical truth, the character of this philosophic scholar-emperor has been rescued from the obloquy

intolerance has heaped upon it for centuries. While a sincere pagan, Julian believed in toleration and sought only to restore that parity between paganism and Christianity which the Edict of Milan had established. He frankly admitted some of the Christian virtues, as, for instance, charity, and the relief and care of the poor and the sick. In a sharp letter to Arsacius, a pagan priest in Galatia, he pointed out the deficiency of these virtues among the pagan priesthood. He was justified in depriving the clergy of the right to travel at government expense by the imperial post; for the burden of the *cursus* was a heavy one upon the municipalities, and the bishops were the only kind of priests who largely used the post.

Emperor Julian (361-3) and the attempted pagan restoration

After the death of Julian, in 363, the proscription of the pagan cults was a matter of short time. In 375 Gratian refused to assume the title of *pontifex maximus,* which all previous emperors had borne. In 382 he began the confiscation of the property of the temples. Paganism was stronger in the West than in the East. In Rome itself it was so strong that pagan worship, even after it was proscribed, publicly continued until 394. A few new temples were built, but by private means and no longer at government expense.

Proscription of paganism

Theodosius I was the first emperor to employ force in the suppression of paganism. He had become ruler in the East after Valens had perished in the battle of Adrianople (378); and in 394, after having crushed Eugenius, who had been put up by pagan partisans after the death of Valentinian II, he became sole ruler of the Roman world. In 387 the systematic destruction of the ancient sanctuaries in Syria and Egypt was begun; in 389 the Serapeum in Alexandria, which housed a library second only to the great Alexandrian library, was demolished, the manuscripts scattered or destroyed. In 391, even in the West, entrance into a temple was forbidden. In 392 the celebration of any pagan cult in private houses was interdicted. Later priests were driven out of the temples and the temples closed. In 394 the last Olympian games were held. For about thirty years the war against paganism continued and new edicts of persecution from time to time were issued. Paganism died hard, but its death was certain. Driven out of the cities, it found refuge in remote regions of Italy and Gaul. In 529 the last temple of Apollo on Monte Cassino was transformed into a cloister by St. Benedict. In the same year Justinian suppressed the schools of philosophy in Athens.

The triumph of the Church introduced a new idea and a new practice in the relation of religion to the State and society. The pagan Roman Empire had possessed a state religion and a government-supported priesthood. But this priest class had never trespassed upon the civil power. The Church and the State were not rival authorities. An entirely new relation was now established between religion and the secular power. In the government of its own members the ecclesiastical system seriously invaded the prerogatives of the State. It is true that it functioned under control of the State (or at least was supposed so to do), but actually the Church competed with the imperial government. More and more the Church tended to supplant the State. As an institution essentially moral in its nature and purpose, it became a new authority. Men could escape in part from the power of the State by becoming the subjects, as it were, of a new power, the Church. The Church created the distinction between temporal and spiritual authority and marked out a dominion upon which the State might not trespass. It made itself both the religion of the State and the only lawful religion.

Church and State in the Roman Empire

As the Roman Empire declined, the Church more and more insinuated itself into secular administration until, with the lapse of all imperial power and authority, the Church not only survived the Roman Empire, but very largely also supplanted it. It modeled its administration after that of Rome, and when there were no more prefects or vicars or provincial governors, the bishops stepped in and administered secular as well as ecclesiastical affairs.

As a landowner the Church soon surpassed in wealth the great patrimonial aristocracy. It, too, had its *"patrimonia sparsa per orbem"* –its patrimonies scattered all over the world—peopled by slaves and serfs, whose labor contributed to its ever increasing riches. The emperors donated lavishly to the Church from the imperial treasury. Private endowments poured in upon it. While some of this wealth was employed to care for the poor and the sick, to maintain the clergy and to erect new churches, it yet widened the gap between clergy and people. With great wealth disappeared that brotherly spirit which had once permeated the Church, and a certain hardness of heart, evident especially in the changed attitude of the Church towards serfdom and slavery, took its place.

The Church as a landed proprietor

The transformation of the Church in the fourth century, both ma-

terially and morally, was amazingly profound and swift. Once a simple, democratic polity with a simple creed, it became a vast and complex hierarchy and bureaucracy. Its hierarchy reflected the *Notitia Dignitatum*. Its creed was a triumph of Greek intellectual subtlety. But the Church paid dearly for its victory in its intolerance, in the *Corruption* compromise it made with the world, in the invasion of the Church *of the Church* by office-seekers—when the clergy was exempted from the *sordida munera*, "there was an ungodly rush for holy orders"—in the nepotism and bribery (simony) that crept in; in the enormous wealth that was heaped upon it; in the crowd of unworthy poor, the idle lazzaroni of the cities, impostors, charlatans, who imposed upon the Church and took bread and pence away from the really destitute and afflicted. St. Ambrose did not spare words with reference to this class. "They come in full vigor," he wrote. "They come with no reason but that they are on the tramp." So, too, St. Basil complained of the difficulty of distinguishing between the honest poor and the professional mendicant.

At the same time the bishop became more and more separated from his flock. He sat upon his episcopal throne like a Roman judge of *Worldly char-* old, imposing ecclesiastical penalties, trying processes, and executing *acter of the* judgments. His palace rivaled and soon outshone that of the governor *bishops* of the province. He maintained the state of a prince, with a whole retinue of officials and servants. St. Jerome, old-fashioned and censorious, satirized in a notable letter the worldliness of many bishops of the fourth century.

The Church, having adopted the Roman imperial form of government for its own, ultimately evolved an ecclesiastical emperor also. This was the pope, and it is to the rise of the papacy that we must now turn our attention.

Among the many things which extended and elevated the authority of the bishop of Rome, not the least was the fact that the importance *Rise of the* of the bishops generally was in proportion to the importance, po- *papacy* litical and economic, of the cities in which they were seated. In the East the most influential sees were Alexandria, Cæsarea, Antioch and Constantinople; in the West, Rome and Carthage. This natural superiority of some sees over others was made more formal by the recognition of certain sees as *metropolitan* sees. Thus the bishop of Cæsarea was metropolitan of Palestine and Syria; Cæsarea was the

headquarters of the Roman procurators and naturally became the ecclesiastical capital. The bishop of Alexandria had analogous power over Egypt and Libya. But no metropolitan bishop possessed the extended authority of the bishop of Rome.

The bishops of Rome, however, labored to convert this metropolitan dignity, according to which they were only equals of other metropolitans, first into *primacy* and then into *supremacy*. In spite of the obscurity which veils the early history of the Church in Rome, by the second century we find in the West recognition of the superiority of the bishop of Rome. But this recognition was one of superior dignity, *primacy, not supremacy*, of authority. Even in the second half of the third century Cyprian of Carthage asserted the complete equality of all bishops, and this principle was incorporated in the findings of the Council of Carthage in 256. St. Augustine had no doubt that a council ranked above the Roman bishop.

Primacy versus supremacy

The supremacy of Rome obtained slowly. Much of the Church persisted in Cyprian's doctrine of the equality of bishops. Africa especially resisted the innovation of Roman primacy. Not until 381 (Third Council of Constantinople) was the primacy of Rome recognized, and supremacy was yet nearly a century away. Rome, Constantinople and Alexandria were keen competitors for the honor of primacy. Since the time of Athanasius it had been the traditional policy of the Roman see to support the independence of the Alexandrian patriarch against the patriarch of Constantinople. But by the middle of the fifth century the power of Alexandria had become so great that it excited the alarm of both the Roman and the Constantinopolitan bishops, as of the emperor also. He bade fair to become the ecclesiastical ruler of the East. In consequence the emperor and the bishops of Rome and Constantinople united against the pretensions of the bishop of Alexandria. At the same time the emperor took care not to let the pretensions of Rome be recognized as exceeding those of Constantinople. The Council of Chalcedon (451) asserted that "the very Holy See of New Rome shall enjoy the same privileges as that of Ancient Rome." Against this declaration the legate of Leo I protested, and cited an article of the canons of the Council of Nicæa in support of his protest. The Greek text of the sixth canon of the Council of Nicæa does not mention the primacy of Rome, but a Latin

copy bears the addition: "The Church of Rome always has possessed primacy." This interpolation first appeared at the Council of Chalcedon, where the papal legate precipitated a violent discussion by reading it.

Within the next four years the claim to the primacy of the Roman bishop, thus boldly made, was transformed into supremacy by Leo I, who triumphantly asserted the doctrine of the Petrine supremacy and the power of the keys. The papal argument in support of this contention was as simple as it was effective. The Church had established the principle of apostolic succession; that is to say, the doctrine that the teachings and the authority of Christ had descended from Him through the twelve apostles and their disciples to the bishops of each succeeding generation. Hence divine authority was vested in the episcopate and the bishops as a body legally constituted the Church. This doctrine had originally been devised to suppress heresy and to impose discipline. But it was to have portentous consequences; for the bishops of Rome eagerly seized upon the tradition that St. Peter was the founder of the Church in Rome, to whom Christ had delegated unique and supreme authority in those impressive words recorded in Matthew xvi, 18–19:

*Leo I
(440–61)*

*Doctrine of
Petrine su-
premacy*

"Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."

Obviously if the tradition that Peter had founded the Church in Rome was an historical fact, and the doctrine of apostolic succession was valid, then by history and ecclesiastical law the bishops of Rome, as successors of St. Peter, possessed supreme authority over the Church. Peter was the Prince of the Apostles. The popes were princes over the Church. Opponents of the Petrine supremacy vainly ignored or contested the papal claims. By the fifth century the doctrine had swept the West, though always denied by the Church in the East. The Council of Chalcedon (451) refused to recognize more than the primacy of the bishop of Rome, Leo I declared this canon null and void. Thus the rupture of the unity of the Church, evident on the death of Constantine the Great, was made more definite. Leo I lost

no time in obtaining imperial sanction of the papal claim to ecclesiastical supremacy. In 455 Valentinian III, emperor in the West, issued an edict that made all of the western bishops subject to the Pope, and commanded all imperial officials to compel the bishops to this obedience.

Growth of appellate jurisdiction of the papacy

Another factor in the elevation of the bishop of Rome was the increasing tendency to make appeals from the action of provincial synods or lesser bishops to Rome. The bishops of the East always protested against the legality of this practice. Even in the West the African Church in St. Augustine's own time, in the Council of Carthage (419) protested against "appeals across the sea." About 510 the appellate jurisdiction of the popes was materially fortified by Dionysius Exiguus, who collected the canons of previous councils and the letters—decretal letters they were called—from Siricius onward (384–498), putting them on about the same level of authority. This Dionysian codification "helped to spread abroad the notion that the popes can declare, even though they cannot make law for the universal Church, and thus to contract the sphere of secular jurisprudence."

By the time of Gregory the Great (590–604) the ecclesiastical supremacy of the papacy was practically established. In his quality as successor of St. Peter the Roman bishop had forced the recognition of his supremacy unon all western Christendom, but not upon the East. While yet theoretically one, the East had an Empire apart and a Church apart from both the rule and the faith of the West.

To these primary causes of the rise of the papacy must be added other auxiliary causes—the wealth of the Roman congregation, the orthodoxy of the Latin West, a succession of great popes like Leo I and Gregory I, the barbarian migrations, and the absence of an emperor in Rome after 476. The restoration of imperial rule in Italy by Justinian partially arrested the growth of the papacy. The emperor exercised his authority over the bishop of Rome as over other bishops. He personally controlled confirmation of the election of the pope. But the critical state of eastern politics in the seventh century—the epoch of Maurice, Phokas and Heraclius—and the iconoclastic heresy of the next century, finally emancipated the papacy from control by the Eastern Roman emperors.

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CHAPTER III

THE BARBARIAN WORLD

*German influ-
ence one of
race*

T HE culture and institutions—in a word, the civilization—of classical antiquity were the first ingredient of medieval civilization. The second ingredient was Christianity and the Church. The third and last ingredient was the Germans. A people of fresh blood, of novel institutions, of vivid personality, they brought new ideas and institutions and new vigor into the broad and deep but somewhat stagnant current of old-world civilization.

The Germans were the nearest and most important members of a vast barbarian world which covered all of central and eastern Europe beyond the Rhine and the Danube and extended across the plains of Russia, peopled by Slavs and "Scythians," into Asia, where roamed hordes of nomadic Huns and other tribes of Tartar extraction.

*Ancient Ger-
many*

In the first and second centuries the Germanic tribes dwelt in the quadrilateral enclosed between the Rhine, the Danube, the Vistula, the Baltic and the North Sea. Although perhaps never actual nomads, the Germans were yet not sedentary when they first came in contact with the Romans. Habit and the memory of their wandering life were too strong among them to enable them to become fixed to the soil readily or firmly. They were encamped rather than established in their places of occupation. They had no towns, but mere villages of rudely constructed huts. A tribe rarely stayed many consecutive years in the same locality. They migrated from region to region.

*Nature of
early German
life*

Cæsar noticed the instability of the Germans, their inclination to rove from one region to another, dispossessing those weaker than themselves; and, what is most interesting, he observed that the primary cause of it was not so much their warlike propensity as increase of population and land-hunger.

After the conquest of Gaul and the extension of the Roman Empire to the Rhine, Rome also dreamed of subjugating the Germans as it had subjugated the Gauls. Her best generals, Drusus, Tiberius, and Germanicus, at the head of their legions penetrated the dark forests

and crossed the huge swamps of barbarian Germany on roads made of felled trees. Roman fleets skirted the coast of the North Sea and made their way up the Weser and the Elbe; Roman armies followed up the Lippe, the Ruhr and the Main into the heart of the country. But the destruction of the army of Varus, A.D. 9, compelled the imperial government to abandon the hope of conquering Germany. But at the end of the first century after Christ, the dangerous salient between the upper Rhine and the upper Danube was protected by a long wall running from Regensburg to Mainz, and the territory enclosed within it—the *Agri Decumates* or Tithe Lands—was settled with retired veterans.

There is no evidence of Roman dread of barbarian invasion, no racial hostility towards the Germans. On the other hand, the Germans were not actuated by hostility towards Rome or ambition to conquer her. The thought that the Roman Empire could perish never *No Roman* entered the mind of either Roman or German. The Germans wanted *dread of the* to safeguard their territory, their independence, their institutions, *Germans* the traditions of their ancestors. The Romans wanted to preserve peaceful intercourse with the Germans. The idea that Rome was ever filled with a dumb fear of the "German peril," or that the Germans were actuated by a great dream of conquest, is wholly false. The great invasions of the Roman Empire between 375 and 450 were caused by the pressure of barbarian peoples who, unknown in the first, second and third centuries, were then wandering in central Asia, in the steppes of Russia, or along the Baltic. These were the Huns, the Goths and the Vandals.

Many German institutions and ideas were directly contrary to the genius and practice of Rome; and the history of the Middle Ages in a large sense is the history of the combination of these different ideas *Germanic* and institutions, partially modified and directed by the influence of *traits* the Christian Church. The Germans sought the personal in everything, and their contact with Roman life only threw this spirit into stronger relief. Larger ideas of government and political solidarity and consolidation were not natural to the Germans, but were learned from the Romans. The individual stood out and was different from the Roman. The Roman was obedient, hardy, persistent, knew how to command, administer, and govern; the German hero, however, had an individual quality that aroused enthusiasm. In the old sagas

and songs of the North we find a strong element of loyalty. German obedience to the chief came from the heart and not because it was commanded. It was the faith of one person in another. A striking military institution was the *comitatus* or "following," a band of warriors devoted to a single chief of prowess, with whom they fought and with whom they died. The intense attachment and honor in this relation were later to exert an influence upon the feudal relation of overlord (*suzerain*) and underlord (*vassal*). The early Germans possessed the virtues and the vices of many barbarian peoples. They were brave, but cruel; hospitable hosts, but truculent neighbors; faithful to their word until corrupted by Roman vices; resentful of outside control and intensely individualistic; strong in their family attachments, monogamous, and intolerant of adultery; superior to most primitive races in the position given to women, some of whom figured as priestesses and even as warriors among them.

Religion

The early German religion was one of superb myths. The gods and goddesses were personifications of the forces of nature, as Woden, the sky-god, Sunna, sun-goddess, Mani, moon-god, Hertha, earth-goddess, Donar or Thor, thunder-god, Freya, goddess of the spring or of fecundity. They had no temples nor sacred groves, nor idols in the strict sense. The priests did not form a caste, as did the druids of the Celts. They used auguries, like the flight of birds, and lots in divination. In brief, the Germans were culturally less advanced when the Romans first learned to know them than were the Greeks of Homer's time or the Romans when Rome was founded. An oddity among the Germans—perhaps due to the long winter nights—was the fact that they reckoned time by nights instead of days and had but three seasons: spring, autumn, winter. The moon was masculine and the sun feminine.

Family

The family was the unit of ancient Germanic polity. The father had the right of life and death over his wife and children, but seldom exercised it; in extreme cases his action had to be approved by the village community. Children born malformed were exposed.The clan (*fara, mægth*) was an agglomeration of kindred families; the State was an aggregation of clans. All members of a village might be more or less distantly related. In war these units were often maintained, but were quite distinct from the *comitatus*. As they fought together, so after migration and conquest they settled down together. Inherit-

ance was transmitted equally to the sons, or, failing them, first to the father's brothers, then to the mother's brothers. Only freemen and nobles might own land. Children followed the condition of the mother in marriages between free and unfree; but in some tribes, notably the Saxons, marriage out of class was forbidden. Murder was not a capital offense and could be compensated by payment of a *wergeld* or fine. All members of a family (in the larger sense of that term) were liable for offenses committed by one of its members. The blood feud (*faida*) could be compensated only by payment of wergeld or the murder of the offender. The life of all interested was in danger until satisfaction had been made. The criminal customary law provided a long series of fines for various offenses, most of them typical of a primitive rudimentary society. Assault and cattle-stealing were the two commonest offenses. One accused of crime might be sworn free by his kindred or neighbors. This was known as *compurgation* and by some historians has been regarded as the root of the jury. But the verdict was one of belief or sentiment, not based on evidence. It was a phenomenon of family solidarity, like the wergeld and the blood feud.

In social structure the early Germans were divided into four classes: nobles, freemen, serfs, and slaves. Liberty and landholding went together. Nobility was a matter of birth and not of property. It conferred social prestige, but no superior political authority. Nobles were *Social classes* protected by a higher wergeld. The question whether the body of the early German people was of free or of servile condition is a mooted one and will be discussed later.

The territory occupied by the tribe was surrounded by a waste zone to protect it against invaders. The central social and political unit *Political units* was the village community (Mark or *Dorf*). The village was a territory partly meadows and woods, partly rudely cultivated fields, with a cluster of houses somewhere in the midst of it protected by hedges, ditches, and the village dogs. The woods and the pasture areas were the common property of the community. Only the cultivated fields were private property. Each village had an assembly called a *moot*, composed of all its freemen. The village was not isolated. Adjacent villages might each own tracts of forest and pasture that were parts of a greater whole, or villages might communicate with each other over forest trails, by rivers. Above the

village or "mark," the lowest and simplest political unit was the *hundred*, a term that may hark back to the remote days when the Germans first spread over central Europe and settled down. The original "hundred" may have been a fighting band of a hundred warriors, who, as they fought together, so settled down together; in this way the hundred became a territorial area and a political unit above the village, somewhat answering to the later township. A combination of hundreds, in turn, formed a county or *gau*, that is, territory. The gaue or counties, in turn, together formed the territory of the tribe, which, when kingship developed among the Germans, was called a *Reich* or kingdom.

The German public assembly was the whole body of fighting men under arms and convened only in event of war or migration. Similarly

the public assemblies of gau and hundred were the nobles and freemen in the area concerned; but they met in time of peace to consider civil matters. At the head of the people were princes (*principes*), who were neither kings nor nobles, but elected chieftains chosen for their valor and qualities of leadership. Under them were sub-chieftains from *gau* and hundred. The war-bands were free-lance forces and often made raids when the tribe as a whole was in a state of peace. The war-leader (*Herzog*, the German word for "duke") had absolute authority during the war, but at its termination that authority lapsed. But as war was almost chronic, a leader of prowess would often be re-elected; and when he died, usually with his boots on, his son, if he was a chip of the old block, would be elected to succeed him. In this wise, and by slow stages, first an elective and then an

hereditary kingship developed. Most of the German tribes had advanced as far as hereditary kingship when they first make their appearance in history, as the Goths. Among most of them the submersion of tribal organization to military expediency had taken place owing to constant war, migration, and expansion. On the other hand, the Franks, when they entered the Roman Empire in the fifth century, and the Lombards in the sixth, still had elected war-chieftains.

In the early nineteenth century historians attributed an exaggerated democratic popular nature and a fantastic democratic dignity to the institutions of the early Germans. Constitutional monarchy, democratic republican government, the parliamentary and representative system, local self-government, trial by jury, "an independent and

self-developing system of law," were all attributed by these enthusiasts to the potency of primitive Germanic institutions, in which, they claimed, all of these great historic principles and practices lay in germ. So, too, the early Germans have been credited with great moral contributions to civilization, such as love of liberty, the sense of personal worth, the sentiment of honor. We now know that most of these splendid qualities had little existence in actuality among the early Germans, and that one and all, whether institutions or ideas, were evolutions of medieval society and owe their origin chiefly to the genius of feudalism. *Modern exaggerations of the nature of early German institutions*

We must reject the notion that the primitive Germans were free, self-governing peoples tilling their own land. While there were many freemen among them, the prevailing drift, if not condition, was towards the formation of a small landlord class and a social aristocracy which controlled public assemblies and courts and had a dependent farming tenantry or servile field-hands to labor for them. The early German polity had a military basis. The chieftain was captain in war and magistrate in time of peace. The social tendency was to develop an aristocracy at once military and proprietary.

As the alleged primitive democracy of the early Germans is an exploded myth, so also the nineteenth-century notion that the early German village community practiced communal ownership of land is exploded. In this theory we again see a projection of modern ideas of social democracy and communism—ideas actually born of the French Revolution—into the past.

For the most part, in the years between the time of Cæsar and Marcus Aurelius (B.C. 50–A.D. 180), the relations between the Romans and the Germans were peaceful, and the Germanic tribes remained relatively stationary within their tribal territories. The western tribes in particular became settled. Yet there was much local movement within the mass. The pressure of the Slavs upon the eastern tribes was constant and of growing intensity, so that they were often forced to quit their *Heimland* (homeland) and to migrate in search of a new place of occupation. Moreover, the land was poor, vast areas of it were covered with thick forests or swamps, and the Germans' rudimentary agriculture ill sufficed to provide for an increasing population. They were often also at the mercy of elemental dangers like flood, drought, famine and forest fires, and were fre- *Causes of the migrations*

quently driven out by such catastrophes. Land-hunger was the dominant force that made the German world restless and impelled migration. It was not want of room at home, but deficient food supply and inability to reduce the wilderness to cultivation, that made the Germans restless and truculent, that led the stronger tribes to dispossess the weaker, that made them look with envy on the neatly tilled fields and quiet provincial life of the Roman border provinces in the valleys of the Rhine and the Danube. Lombard legend recorded that the Lombard peoples, owing to increase of population in their original home, perhaps Scandinavia, were divided into three groups, and that lots were drawn to determine which one of the three should migrate.

The great change in the German world from peaceful relations with Rome to active onslaught upon the frontier came in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, when for fourteen years (166–80) the Marcomanni and the Quadi beset the Danube border above the bend (Pannonia). Other lesser tribes were also loosely incorporated with these two major groups, which together formed the earliest German confederacy of which we have record. This league had been formed in modern Bohemia and Moravia as far back as the time of Strabo. Its creator and first king was Maroboduus. In the end the Marcomanni and the Quadi were destroyed as tribes. Many of their fighting men were drafted into the Roman legions and sent into Britain, and the conquered barbarians settled in large numbers as *coloni* within the limits of the Empire.

The place and time of this earliest formidable German pressure upon the Roman frontier are important. Evidently these tribes in central Germany felt the thrust of other migrating tribes east of them, and the Marcomanni and Quadi, located along the Roman border, experienced the full force of this accumulated thrust. But the identity of the barbarian people whose mighty trek was so deranging the whole eastern German world was for years unknown. Then, in the reign of Caracalla (211–17), the Goths appeared, moving down the Dniester River, and soon attacking Dacia. The first great German nation loomed above the horizon of history in them, and the period of Germanic invasions began.

First appearance of the Goths

Ravages of the Goths

For fifty years the Roman emperors endeavored to hold back the Goths and preserve Dacia from their occupation. From 254 to 268

the conflict was incessant. In 268, a great Gothic fleet penetrated the Dardanelles, passed through the Sea of Marmora into the Ægean, and began to plunder the cities of Greece and Asia Minor and the rich islands. Finally they attacked Thessalonica, the capital of Macedonia, a rich port and a populous city. But learning that Emperor Claudius II was advancing to meet them, the Goths raised the siege and marched against the Romans. At Naissus (modern Nish) in *Battle of Nais-* Upper Mœsia where the two armies encountered each other, the *sus (268)* Romans won a great victory.

In spite of the great victory, however, Aurelian, successor to Claudius II, perceived that the Gothic occupation of Dacia was an *Loss of Dacia* accomplished fact, and wisely resigned that great territory to the Goths. The advantages of evacuation were incontestable. In 275 the legions and all Roman civil officials were withdrawn. The Goths, having found a land where they might dwell in peace, now settled down in Dacia and abandoned both warfare and piracy. The first truly German kingdom came into being in the ensuing years and the Goths became half civilized and Christianized.

The immediate effect of the Gothic migration had been to hurl the Marcomanni and Quadi upon the bend of the Danube, but the effects of their impact was felt throughout most of the Germanic world. During the third century there were evidences of the impact of German tribe upon German tribe, the thrust extending westward as far as the upper Danube and the Rhine. There the German tribes, notably the Alemanni and the Franks, were a slightly less formidable menace to the frontier legions than were the Goths.

These new formations in the third century appear as tribal confederacies. Smaller tribes coalesced to make one larger tribe, sometimes incorporating fragments of former tribes whose earlier tribal integrity had been destroyed. Six of these loose Germanic unions are found in the third century: (1) the Alemanni, (2) the Franks, (3) *Alemanni* the Bavarians, (4) the Saxons, (5) the Thuringians, (6) the Frisians. *and* Of these confederacies only the Alemanni and the Franks played *Franks* an important rôle in the third century. The rest were not heard of until later.

About 259 the Alemanni moved up the Neckar, penetrated the Black Forest, took Aqua Aureliensis (modern Baden-Baden), reached the sources of the Danube, and threatened Vindilicia. Posthumus, the

"tyrant" or counter-emperor in Gaul, attacked them and strengthened the *limes* (257–60). Thus blocked from ingress into Gaul, the Alemanni crossed the Alps and were beaten by the Emperor Claudius II on Lake Garda, a second victory for the hero of Naissus. But in the first year of Aurelian (270) the Alemanni in formidable numbers pierced Rhætia, again crossed the Alps by both the Brenner and the Splügen passes, and invaded the middle Po valley. The emperor, who was in Pannonia, where he made a settlement with the Vandals, advanced in a forced march and to the relief of the endangered territory fell upon this host near the Metaurus (a battlefield in the days of Hannibal) and destroyed it. The narrow escape of Italy at this time induced Aurelian to erect the great wall around Rome, which still stands almost intact. Vindilicia and Noricum were delivered, but the Decuman Fields were practically lost. Diocletian repulsed an attempted Alemannic invasion of Gaul in 285. In 301 Constantius Chlorus defeated them near Langres. The upper Rhine thereafter formed the boundary between the Roman Empire and the Germans. The loss of the Decuman Fields in the West corresponded to the loss of Dacia in the East.

The early history of the Franks is similar to that of the Alemanni, but is more obscure. They are first mentioned in 256. In all probability the immediate pressure that induced the formation of the Frankish confederacy emanated from the Saxons, who, themselves pressed westward, in turn trod upon the Franks and compelled them to organize a firmer union in self-defense. In 256 the Franks invaded Gaul almost with impunity. In 262 a column of them even crossed Gaul into Spain. In 273 the hard-pressed Aurelian, as he fought Goths and Alemanni, fought the Franks who again invaded Gaul in that year, penetrating into its center and spreading over many provinces. In 277 the emperor Probus took so many Frankish captives, whom he reduced to *coloni*, that he wrote to the senate: "Now the barbarians labor for you, sow for you." His biographer says of him that he took as much booty in Germany as the Germans had seized in Gaul before. Thousands of Franks were transported and colonized in waste or abandoned places; thousands were drafted into the legions and sent into Britain, Thrace, and even Asia Minor. But the Franks occasionally threatened the Rhenish cities. In 298 Constantius Chlorus defeated an invading band of Franks and settled

them as colonists around Autun and Trier, which they had formerly plundered.

By 300 the first great tumultous period of the Germanic migrations was over and the pressure on the Roman Empire eased. The settlement of the Goths in Dacia, the quiet establishment of the Vandals in the middle Danube, the check to the Alemanni and the Franks, brought *Cessation of* a term of relative repose for the Roman Empire in its relations with the *invasions* Germans. Even internal Germany seems to have become somewhat *(c. 300)* composed. Until the end of the fourth century the relations of the Romans and the Germans in the main were of a peaceful, not a hostile, character. The "migration" took on a new form, and one destined to have far more profound results than the incursions had had. The incursions had been passing storms; but the quiet seeping of the Germans into the Empire as soldiers in the legions and as colonists and settlers, had a deep and lasting effect. The "pacific invasion" now needs to be examined in some detail.

It began as far back as the reign of Augustus. The first Germans who *The "pacific* were established upon the soil of the Empire were prisoners of war *invasion" of* (*dedititii*). After the victories of Drusus and Tiberius more than a *the Germans* hundred thousand Ubians, Catti, Sicambri, Cherusci, and Suevi were transplanted into Rhenish Gaul, where they settled upon the state lands, not as slaves, but as *coloni*. They were not worked in gangs, as were the slaves, but the head of each family was assigned a plot of ground which he was compelled to till as a perpetual tenant farmer, subject to the usual taxes. The conditions of establishment varied according to epoch and circumstance, but throughout the first, second, third and fourth centuries we find frequent mention of such compulsory settlements in the provinces bordering the Rhine and the Danube. These colonists preserved their native customs and form of family life and their own primitive methods of farming, and formed dependent German village communities among the Roman occupants of the land. Experience showed that it was inadvisable to establish such colonies in the vicinity of the Roman cities, for the wealth accumulated there sometimes excited the Germans' cupidity. Some Marcomanni settled near Ravenna, for example, once sacked the town. During the third century there was hardly a German tribe that did not furnish *dedititii* to Roman fields. Thousands of Goths were so colonized by Claudius II, thousands of Franks and Alemanni by

Aurelian, thousands of Bastarnæ and Franks by Probus, thousands of Carpi by Diocletian, thousands of Chamavi and Frisians by Constantius. In the fourth century the bulk of German *coloni,* however, were not compulsory settlers, but voluntary German incomers, who occupied the waste places and filled the sparsely populated regions or repeopled the depleted domains of the patrimonial aristocracy.

From the beginning of the Empire the army was an easy mode of ingress for many Germans, who at first came in as enlisted legionaries. There were German cohorts in Italy and even in Rome. Some Suevi fought in the front rank at the battle of Cremona under Vespasian. The imperial German body-guard bivouacked in the palace on the Palatine was proverbially loyal to the emperors. Other German military contingents were the *fœderati.* These were the fighting men of one tribe or another whose chieftains had entered into alliance with the Roman government and joined the Roman military service with their warriors. These chiefs were at once tribal leaders and army captains, for the organization of the *comitatus* was preserved under the armor of the legionary. They and their men received regular pay and rations. The records abound with notices of such barbarian commanders and such barbarian troops. There were detachments of Batavians at Arras, Franks at Rennes, Suevi at Coutances, Le Mans, and Bayeux, Sarmatians in Paris, Poitiers, Amiens and Langres. In Low Latin the word *"barbarus"* commonly meant a soldier.

Most of Constantine's army at the battle of the Milvian Bridge was composed of Germans, and later the *élite* of his cavalry was wholly German. Very many of the lesser officers of the army were Germans, and not a few German chieftains rose to high command. Arbogast, a Frank, was *magister militum,* or marshal, under Valentinian I; another Frank named Richomer was first count of the domestics to Gratian and later *magister militum* to the Emperor Valens in the East; Eudoxia, the daughter of Bauto, a third Frank, who succeeded Arbogast, married Emperor Valentinian the Younger. The emperors Theodosius and Gratian were especially partial to Germans. In the fifth century all of the great commanders in the Western Empire were of barbarian extraction. A constitution of 441 shows that by the time of Theodosius II German brigades (*scholæ*) were so numerous in the army that a separate bureau of the treasury (*scrinium barbarorum*) was created to administer the payment of these troops. From the army

some of such German commanders penetrated into the civil service. In the fourth and fifth centuries at least nine consuls in the West were German, while in the latter century great numbers of the counts of the cities in Gaul and Italy were former German officers in the imperial armies.

In yet another capacity the Germans entered the Roman Empire in masses and peacefully. This was as *læti* or military colonists, each man of whom received an allotment of land to farm, but subject, if summoned, to military service. Such settlements naturally were most frequent in the border provinces; but we find plentiful evidence of such colonies in the interior provinces also. In them we have an anticipation of and model for the far greater occupations of the Visigoths and Burgundians in Gaul in the fifth century and the Ostrogoths in Italy in the sixth.

The favor often manifested towards the Germans by the emperors, especially by Constantine, Valentinian I, Gratian, and Theodosius I, created jealousy among other officers, but envy and jealousy are not racial antagonism. Moreover, the highest German commanders were frequently men of as much culture and as good manners as their Roman contemporaries. Symmachus, the most cultivated Roman of the fourth century, prized the friendship of Bauto, and Richomer stood little lower in his esteem. Mixed marriages between Romans and Germans were not uncommon in the third century—a lieutenant of Aurelian's married a Gothic princess and the Emperor Gallienus's second wife was a daughter of the King of the Marcomanni. In the fourth century such marriages were so usual among both high and low that in some places, notably in the Rhine cities, as the inscriptions show, the fusion of races had proceeded far. In the next century the poet Prudentius speaks of it as an accomplished fact. Finally in the sixth century we find Cassiodorus, the Latin secretary of Theodoric the Ostrogoth, writing of "old and honorable" Italian families of mixed Roman and German ancestry.

No racial antagonism between Romans and Germans

Until 375, the movements of the Germans had been isolated operations, without unity and even without much connection. The pressure of one tribe upon another, a local war, local privation or disaster, the prowess of some ambitious chieftain, or the weakness of some Roman frontier officer seems to have been the usual cause. Individually no one of these forces was yet of great importance. Many of them seem to

have been accidental and incidental. Nevertheless, we must seek to fin
a general explanation of these several events. Their significance lie
in their frequent and constant recurrence. They are symptoms of th
increasing unrest and the growing power of the German peoples. The
are symptoms, too, of a reduction of the resisting power of Roman ir
stitutions, of a weakening of Roman civilization, of a break-down o
the old Roman morale, of a loss of energy in the Latin stock. But w
have not yet come to the real invasions. The Germans who so far hac
entered into the Roman Empire were isolated and detached groups
many of them already partly Romanized, who were soon more or les:
absorbed by the population around them. The invasions properly so
called began when the barbarians, instead of entering the Roman army
as legionaries or establishing themselves in small groups as *fœderati*
or *læti,* began to pour across the frontier in great masses, as nations
under their national kings. If the conditions of the fourth century
could have been continued for another two centuries and the Germans
could have slowly and quietly filtered into the Roman Empire, then
the gradual fusion of races and institutions and political and social
adjustment might have been made without undue violence or gross
injustice, and a Romano-Germanic-Christian society and civilization
peacefully established. But in 375 the barbarian world seemed to be
thrown *en masse* upon the Roman Empire; huge hordes of Germans
and Huns hurled themselves across the frontier. From this time
the migrations, which had been at least controlled in the first, second,
third and fourth centuries, became an unmanageable mass movement
of portentous dimension and vast momentum.

Change in na-
ture of inva-
sions in 375

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CHAPTER IV

THE FOUNDING OF THE GERMAN KINGDOMS

THE period of the barbarian invasions, when enormous masses of rude nations penetrated in volume into every province of the Roman Empire—Asia, Egypt and Tripoli excepted—and established their kingdoms therein, extended from 375 to 568. The West Goths were the first people to enter the Roman Empire as a nation; the Lombards were the last. The founding of the German kingdoms marked the end of the ancient world. The events that took place between these two dates, and the changes which western Europe experienced owing to them, are among the most important in European history. Unfortunately the history of this epoch must ever be imperfectly known.

Historians vary greatly in their opinions of both the nature and the degree of the German conquest. But some things commonly believed of the Germanic invasions are certainly *not* true. The Germans neither destroyed nor regenerated western civilization. They did not introduce either equality or liberty, for they had neither among themselves. They cherished no dream of conquering the Roman Empire and never knew that they had done so. Modern ideals of liberty and modern democratic institutions sprang out of feudalism, not out of ancient Teutonic institutions. The invasions were not an abrupt contact between peoples hitherto unknown to one another; on the contrary they were a long-drawn-out process of penetration, much of it accomplished without violence. The German incomers were more than "mere warbands," but they were not always "invaders," nor were they always predatory. The Germans were not ravenous barbarians, neither were they children of nature endowed with a singular genius for constructing a new world upon the ruins of an old. They were not hostile to Roman civilization. They did not ruin it, for the good reason that it was well-nigh in a state of dissolution when they entered the Empire. We must, however, while discounting the immediate effects of the Germanic occupation, admit the extraordinarily great influence, in the

long run, of the Germans upon later western history and civilization.

There were so many differences among the whole mass of the barbarians who invaded the Empire between the fourth and sixth centuries, that we must distinguish groups. Some bands or peoples traversed the country, ravaging everything in their path, but secured no foothold. Such were the barbarians of Radagaisus, who were destroyed in Italy in 405. The war-bands of Attila, also largely formed of nomad Huns, horsemen of Asiatic race from the steppe land of western Asia, passed without permanent effects. Other barbarian hosts were united peoples and created states governed by kings. These were the Visigoths, the Franks, the Burgundians, the Vandals, the Ostrogoths, the Anglo-Saxons, and the Lombards. *Necessity of distinguishing among the barbarian invaders*

Before studying the history of each of these invading German nations, let us summarize the separate movements in chronological order. *Summary of the invasions* After the death of Aurelian (275) the Germans broke into the *Agri Decumates* and began to occupy the country. In 276 Probus reconquered it. But the pressure of the Alemanni was soon resumed. In 289 Diocletian resolved to build an inner line of castles along the upper Rhine. In the next century as an additional precaution the Emperor Valentinian I fortified the interior natural lines of defense—the passes in the Vosges by Belfort and Zabern, the Toul Gate, and the line of the Meuse, especially at Verdun. But it was too late. The exhausted Roman Empire could not hold the posts against increasing attacks of Vandals, Franks, and Huns. The whole interior line of fortresses went down in the fifth century before the barbarian storm.

In 378 the West Goths entered into the Balkan peninsula, defeated the Emperor Valens at Adrianople, were settled in military cantonments along the middle and lower Danube by Theodosius the Great (378–95), invaded Italy in 408, sacked Rome in 410, and established a kingdom in southwestern Gaul and Spain (412–29). During this time the formidable but temporary inroad of the hordes under Radagaisus took place (405). The Vandals invaded Gaul in 406, ravaged Spain, and crossed over into Africa in 429. There they founded a kingdom which was destroyed by Justinian in 533. The Burgundians settled in the valley of the upper Rhone in 443, and gradually spread from Lake Geneva to Provence. They were conquered (511) by the Franks, who during the fifth century had slowly filtered into northeastern Gaul (modern France and Belgium), destroyed the remnant of Ro-

man provincial rule there in 486, and by 511 had extended their sway as far as the Garonne. Meanwhile the Alemanni had spread over modern Alsace and Switzerland; the Bavarians had established themselves above the bend of the Danube river in old Roman Pannonia; the Jutes, Angles, and low or maritime Saxons had begun to invade Britain (449–). Finally, in 568, the Lombards rounded the east end of the Alps and occupied the Po region of Italy.

The Goths in Dacia

Important political and cultural changes had taken place among the Goths during the century of their occupation of Dacia. Although during the long migration they had been divided into two great groups, the East Goths and the West Goths, they were still a single nation, the East Goths constituting the trunk of the nation, the West Goths being the branch. Their political formation became more compact, and Hermanic's (350–75) was the first of all genuine Germanic kingships. The Goths learned something of the ways of Rome. Their material and their moral civilization improved through contact with the superior civilization of Rome. Most momentous was their conversion to Christianity, through the efforts of Wulfilas (311–61), a

Conversion of the Goths

half-Goth who had been educated in Constantinople. He was made bishop of the Goths about 341 and translated the Scriptures into Gothic. This translation (of which only a part has survived) is the earliest monument of the German language. The form of the new faith was important. Wulfilas was an Arian, and the diffusion of that faith among the Goths and later among the Vandals, Burgundians and Lombards exerted the greatest influence upon later events.

First appearance of the Huns

About A.D. 100 detachments of Huns first appeared in the Crimea. The main body of Huns, however, did not arrive on the confines of Europe until the fourth century, and then slowly. By this time they had divided into two branches, the White Huns, who settled in modern Turkestan, where for years they menaced the Persian Empire, and the Huns proper. In 375 the latter moved through the natural gateway between the Ural Mountains and the head of the Caspian Sea into southern Russia and fell upon the East Goths. Europe knew nothing like the Huns. Roman and German alike recoiled in horror from these hideous savages. They practically lived on horseback, and terrorized the Germans by their sudden, unexpected appearance, and their fierce aspect. They were "small, foul and skinny," low-browed, high-cheeked and scar-faced, with beady, sunken

MIGRATIONS OF THE GERMANS
IN THE FIFTH CENTURY

EXPLANATION

First invasion of the Huns
Second Hun invasion
Vandals
West Goths
East Goths
Franks
Saxons & Angles

L.A.Dickinson
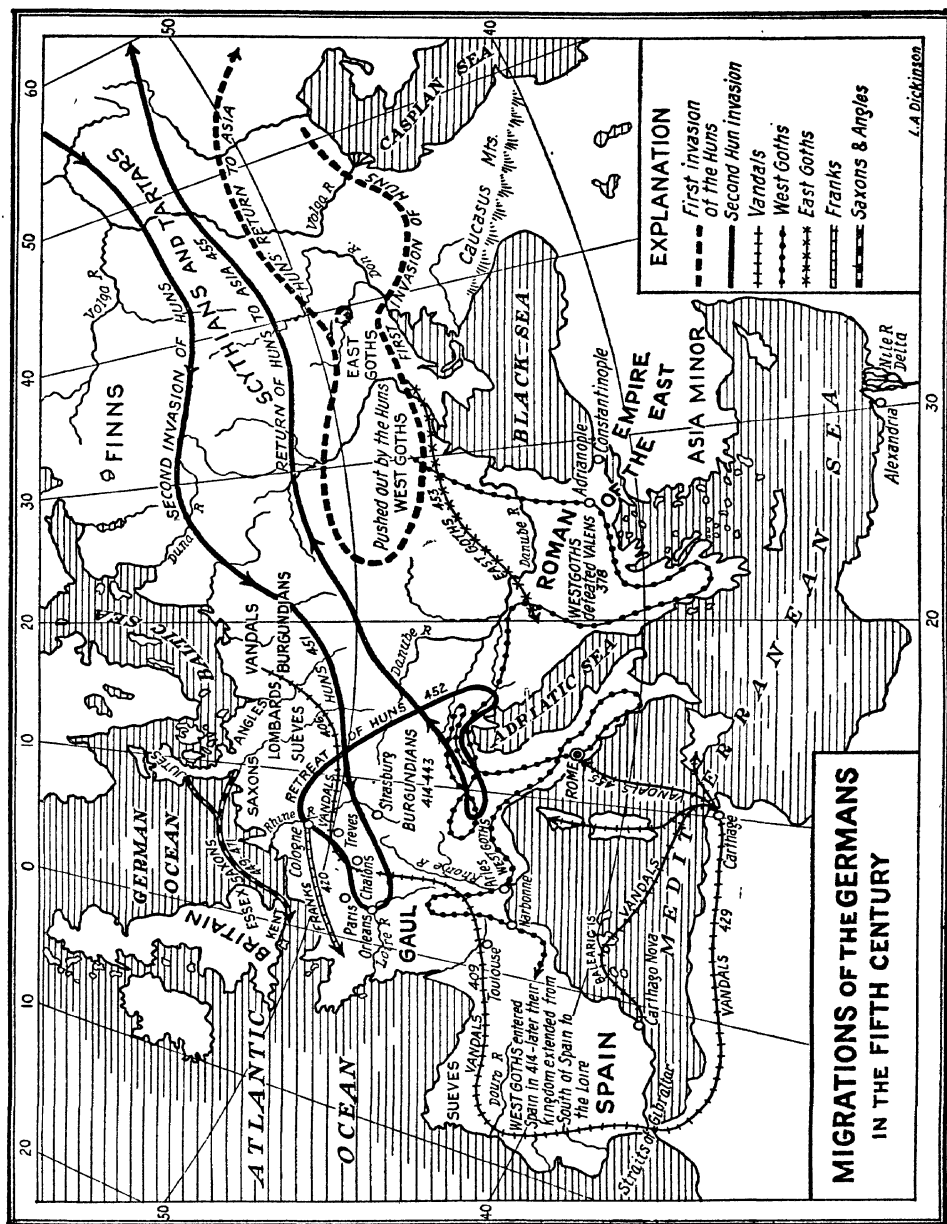
eyes. They wore dirty leather tunics (until they rotted from their backs) and helmets of wild rat skins. They were said to live on raw meat, which they warmed by carrying under their saddles. They were homeless nomads, wandering from place to place with their herds. They had no form of writing. From early childhood, when they were taught to ride on the backs of sheep and shoot rats and birds, they were hunters. It was the custom for the sons to take over a deceased father's wives, and for the younger brothers to take over the widows of their elder brothers.

Subjugation of the East Goths   From 375 to 452 the East Goths, overwhelmed by the savage hordes that fell upon them, disappeared from history. The frightened West Goths crowded down upon the Danube and implored permission to cross over. For years Rome had allowed the German peoples to settle in the border provinces and had recruited her armies from among them; but the introduction of so vast a body at once involved

Crisis of the Roman Empire   a grave issue. The government at last allowed the Visigoths to settle in Mœsia and Thrace, on condition that they surrendered their arms; but it could not enforce this provision. About a million people, one hundred thousand of them fighting men, crossed the river (376). There the corruption of the Roman officials drove them to desperation. For two years they endured the scanty food furnished them by contractors who profited by their misfortune; but when their wives and children were seized and sold as slaves, the Goths rebelled. They

Battle of Adrianople (378)   defeated the emperor at Adrianople (August 9, 378). The Goths had broken down the outer wall of the Empire and had defeated Rome within the limits of the Empire. In this extremity Theodosius

Emperor Theodosius I (378–95)   (378–95), a Roman soldier of Spanish birth (a descendant of Trajan), was appealed to by Gratian, the sole remaining emperor, who ruled in the West. Theodosius became emperor of the East and when Gratian died, united the Eastern and Western Empires for the last time. He took the Goths into the army and cantoned them along the Danube. The compact he made with the West Goths on

The year 382 a turning-point   October 3, 382 marks the transition from mere settlements of the Germans to the founding of kingdoms. The West Goths preserved their national characteristics, their laws, and their Arian faith; they were obligated to Rome only for military service, particularly the duty of guarding the frontiers. The Goths remained faithful until the death of Theodosius (395) when they again rebelled.

At his death the Empire was divided between his sons. The East was given to Arcadius, the West to Honorius. With the death of Theodosius German civil and military influence within the Empire became marked. The sons were weak, and two officials really exercised authority. In the West Stilicho, a Vandal in the Roman service —a brave, intelligent, ambitious and able man—married the emperor's sister and was given supreme military authority. In the East the minister of Arcadius was Rufinus, a Goth who was prætorian prefect; he was selfish, deceitful and cruel. He later fomented rather than restrained the revolt of Alaric. *Division of the Empire (395)* *Stilicho, master general*

Since their agreement, in 382 to become Roman mercenaries, the West Goths had become very discontented. Their pay was long in arrears, and most of all they wanted homes, not military service. In 395 they revolted under Alaric, and invaded Macedonia and Thessaly, entered Athens, which paid a heavy ransom, pillaged the temple of Eleusis, and sacked Corinth. The eastern government was apathetic; Stilicho crossed the Adriatic and cornered the Goths in Elis; but Alaric escaped (396?). *Alaric the Goth*

Arcadius at last offered Illyricum to Alaric (398). Here the Visigoths remained for four years, while Stilicho returned to Gaul and the Danube provinces, there to fight the Vandals. In 402 Alaric first attempted to enter Italy, but Stilicho defeated him at Pollenza (March 9, 402). In 405 a barbarian horde of Vandals, Suevi, Burgundians and Alani, forced by the Huns on the Danube, invaded Italy under Radagaisus. Stilicho successfully blockaded them near Fiesole. Famine and fever weakened the invading host. Radagaisus was captured and executed, and the remnant of his following was enslaved. Once more a barbarian invasion of Italy was checked. *Alaric attempts to invade Italy* *Battle of Pollenza (402)* *Radagaisus*

To fight Radagaisus, Stilicho had drawn many troops from the guard upon the Rhine. In 406, in spite of the resistance of the Ripuarian Franks then in the service of Rome, a mass of Vandals, Alani and Suevi crossed on the ice. For three years they ravaged Gaul and then pushed into Spain (409). Stilicho was blamed for these reverses. At the court he was slandered to Honorius, and accused of plotting to become emperor himself. Honorius and the senate became jealous of his power and abilities and Honorius had him assassinated (August 23, 408). Stilicho's own soldiers were butchered by the misguided and fanatic people. Those who escaped fled to Alaric. *Invasion of the Vandals (406)* *Murder of*

On the death of the only man who could defeat him Alaric marched upon Rome, and for the first time since Hannibal a hostile army was before her gates. The deputation of the senate reminded him of the numerous people who would suffer, and Alaric rejoined: "The thicker the hay, the easier it is mowed." Nevertheless, for an enormous ransom he retired into Etruria and demanded of Honorius the command of the western forces and a home for his people. Personally secure in Ravenna, the emperor was obdurate; and again Alaric advanced to Rome. Honorius again agreed to treat with him, but again changed *Sack of Rome* his mind. For the third time Alaric, now infuriated, advanced upon *by Alaric* Rome; slaves within opened the Salarian Gate, and the Visigoths sacked the city which had rifled the world (410). Alaric died of fever in southern Italy (411), and legend says was buried in the bed of a river.

The Visigoths Athaulf (Adolph), brother-in-law of Alaric, the next leader of the *in Gaul and* Goths, was assassinated in 415 at Barcelona. Wallia, his brother-in-*Spain* law was then made king. Honorius gave him Aquitaine for a kingdom from the Loire to the Pyrenees, although the gift was hardly more than a permission to conquer and to settle. Wallia drove the Suevi into the northwest of Spain, and the Vandals south of the Ebro. Thus, after forty years of wandering, the West Goths came to rest in southern Gaul (418). They spread from Toulouse, on the Garonne, southward into Spain, from which they drove the Vandals in 429.

Theodoric I (419–51), the successor of Wallia, enlarged and consolidated the Visigoth kingdom. By 436 he had taken many cities in southern Gaul from the Romans. In 439, after defeating the Roman general Aetius near Toulouse, he made peace. He died in 451, in the great battle against Attila at Châlons. Theodoric II (451–65) fought with the Suevi in northwest Spain, conquered Narbonne and extended the kingdom to the Loire. He was assassinated by his brother Euric in *Euric (465–* 465. Euric was the ablest king in West Gothic history. He obliterated the last remnants of Roman power in Spain, subdued the Suevi, and made the earliest codification of Germanic law in history, the *Antiqua.* Between the end of the Western Empire and the development of the Frankish kingdom in northern Gaul and that of the East Goths under Theodoric in Italy, the West Goths were the most powerful German kingdom.

After resisting the West Goths in Spain for fourteen years, the

Vandals crossed over to Africa (429). Honorius had died in 423 and *Genseric:* was shortly succeeded by his nephew, Valentinian III (425–55), un- *Vandal inva-* der the regency of his mother, Galla Placidia. Count Boniface of Af- *sion of Africa* rica, and Aetius, master of the army, were rivals at court. Aetius accused Boniface of treason, and Boniface defeated three armies sent against him. During this civil war the Vandals crossed the straits under Genseric, a man small in stature and lame, cruel and rapacious, but a born leader. Supported by the half-savage tribes around Atlas and by the sect of the Donatists, who were hostile to the Catholics, the Vandals devastated the coast from Tangiers to Tripoli. Africa was lost to the Empire. In 439 Carthage fell. The Vandals became a great naval *Capture of* power in the Mediterranean, and plundered the Balearic Islands, Cor- *Carthage* sica, Sardinia, Sicily, lower Italy, and finally Rome (455). *(439)*

After the Visigoths entered the Empire in 375, the Huns had overrun the lower Danube and forced tribute from Constantinople. Though Aetius took sixty thousand of them into Roman service after the death of Honorius, the body of the Huns stayed near the Euxine. In 425 they penetrated into Thrace and threatened the capital. Then they moved up the valley of the Danube until they had overrun Pannonia. Here Aetius, when driven from Italy by Valentinian III, found asylum among them in 432.

Between 430 and 433 the Huns, under the famous Attila, ravaged the provinces of the lower Danube. Theodosius II agreed to pay an *Attila* annual subsidy to Attila to purchase immunity for his provinces. For a time Attila fought the various tribes of eastern and central Europe. Then he turned West. In 447 he advanced up the Danube, and laid waste Mœsia, Thrace, Illyria and Pannonia, crossed the Rhine, and *Invasion of* entered Gaul (451). The Huns sacked Trier (Trèves) and Metz. *Gaul* Reims was abandoned by its inhabitants. Roused by the news that Aetius was coming against him, Attila passed by Troyes, Châlons, and Sens, and rode for Orléans on the Loire (May). Aetius's strategy *Great battle* compelled him to fall back into the broad plains of the Champagne *with the* country, where his horsemen could maneuvre. Somewhere near *Huns (451)* Troyes the Romans and West Goths defeated Attila in the great battle of Châlons. Though its decisiveness has been exaggerated, it was a victory for Europe. The Huns recrossed the Rhine.

In the spring of 452 Attila suddenly invaded Italy. Aquileia was deserted by the frightened populace, who fled to the islands of the

sea. Aetius was still in Gaul, and Rome itself was endangered. In this extremity the Bishop of Rome, Pope Leo the Great, with two senators, advanced to intercede with Attila. Medieval legend has it that Attila was frightened by the apparition of St. Peter and St. Paul; but possibly fear of the fevers of the Campagna and the news that Aetius was approaching induced Attila to quit Italy after being promised an annual tribute (July, 452). In 453 the great Hun died in the midst of an orgy in his camp in Pannonia. His sons tried to partition his empire, but the various conquered nations—Goths, Gepidi, Heruli, Alani, Rugians—rebelled and defeated them near the little river of Nedeo in Pannonia in 454, and the Hun Empire was shattered.

Battle of Nedeo

The Burgundians had suffered from the Huns more than any other of the western German tribes, and they benefited most by the decline of Hunnic power. In 277 they had first appeared on the middle Rhine, and in the fourth century they, like many other Germans, were employed as legionaries by the imperial government. Valentinian I (364–75) thus used them against the Alemanni. The Burgundians took no part in the grand invasion of 406. They were the most peace-loving of all the German peoples, and when they forced their way across the Rhine into Gaul, they did so reluctantly and in order to escape the terrible pressure of the Huns. In 435 a great battle was fought between the Burgundians and the Huns, the memory of which is preserved in the *Nibelungenlied*. In 443 Aetius permitted them to colonize the territory between the Jura and the Sâone, and there were Burgundian detachments in Aetius's army at Châlons in 451. At this time the Burgundians were asked to aid both the West Goths and the Romans. They took advantage of the situation and by 468 they had spread peacefully over the whole area between the Alps and the Rhone, but were prevented from reaching the Mediterranean by Euric's conquest of Provence.

Burgundians

By the middle of the fifth century the Western Empire was in shreds. The legions were withdrawn from Britain in 442;[1] Africa was lost to the Vandals; Spain and all southern and eastern Gaul were occupied by the West Goths and the Burgundians; the Ale-

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[1] "The date usually given for the abandonment of Britain is 410, but there is evidence which shows that Roman regiments and Roman officials were in the Britannic provinces as late as 430. . . . In the contemporary Gallic Chronicle we get another date, *i.e.*, 442, and I believe that this is the right one." BURY, *The Barbarian Invasions*, 129–30.

manni had crossed the upper Rhine and were settled in Alsace; the Franks had passed the lower Rhine and reached the Somme and the Meuse. In Gaul only the territory between the Loire, the Channel, and the Meuse—the rich basin of the Seine—was not occupied by the Germans.

Imperial sovereignty in the Western Empire lingered in Italy, and *Italy* there, too, disappeared in 476. The decline, slow under Honorius and Valentinian III, was swift and ruinous after 455. Aetius, the only man who might have held off the Vandals, was murdered in 453.

The Vandal fleet appeared off Ostia in June 455. Pope Leo the Great tried to save Rome from the Vandals as he had saved it from *Sack of Rome* Attila three years before, but failed. The Roman mob went wild with *by the Vandals* fear when the Vandals appeared, and stoned the Emperor Maximus to *(455)* death. For fourteen days the Vandals methodically rifled the city. The imperial palace, the Temple of Jupiter, churches, and dwellings were gutted. The Vandals even stripped the gilded tiles from the roofs of the temples. They carried away the relics brought by Titus from Jerusalem—works of art, plate, and furniture. Thousands of the wretched people were enslaved. The grand old patrician families were broken up, their wealth dissipated. The political glory of Rome ended. Her greatness and strength thereafter were that of the Church.

Western history between 455 and 476 is an epilogue to all this. Political power in Italy was in the hands of successive German com- *Last years of* manders of German mercenaries. Their arbitrariness and cruelty were *the Western* slightly tempered at times by the popes. For centuries to come the *Empire (455–* political wisdom, intelligence, and charity of the popes was the hope *76)* of Italy and even of western Europe. The emperors were puppets of the soldiery, put up and knocked down through caprice. In twenty-one years there were eight emperors, of whom only two, Majorian (457–61) and Anthemius (467–72), even struggled against the growing anarchy. In 476 Odovaker, a Scyrian chieftain in the Roman army rebelled and deposed Romulus Augustus, a boy-emperor twelve years *Odovaker* of age, whom Odovaker's rival, a Pannonian commander in the army, had put up as emperor in the previous year.

The history of the Western Empire thus ended miserably. Gibbon's sonorous title is responsible for the false and mischievous idea that the Roman Empire "fell." Legally Italy—all that was left of the former Western Empire—was reunited with the Eastern Empire

again under Odovaker in 476. But Odovaker was neither "King of Italy" nor a German tribal ruler. He was a commander of German mercenaries, theoretically a viceroy and practically independent.

Actual imperial rule in the West was nearly obliterated. Only in northern Gaul, where the imperial administration still locally carried on, was even a semblance of former Roman rule to be found. And in 486 the Franks overran northern Gaul. In 489 the East Goths, or Ostrogoths, entered Italy. The greatest and strongest German state so far established was the kingdom of the West Goths. Under Euric the kingdom stretched from the Strait of Gibraltar to the Loire and from Provence, between the Maritime Alps and the Rhone, to the Bay of Biscay.

Rise and expansion of the Franks

The formation of the Frankish state was the most important event in the whole history of the German invasions; for the Franks were the sole German people to establish a permanent state within the limits of the Western Empire. By the beginning of the fifth century the wavering small tribes which had formed the loose Frankish confederation of the third century had coalesced into a fairly compact mass in which the Salian Franks and the Ripuarian Franks are the only clearly discernible elements. By this time both groups were settled well within the Roman Empire: the Salians between the lower Rhine, the Meuse and the Scheldt; the Ripuarians along the lower course of the Moselle. Later Frankish legend created a whole dynasty of Salian

Clovis

kings prior to Clovis, the real founder of the Frankish kingdom (481–511), but only Clovis's father, Childeric (458–81), is a substantial historical personality. In 486 Clovis attacked Syagrius, the Roman governor still "carrying on" in the basin of the Seine. Near Soissons

Battle of Soissons

he defeated Syagrius, and destroyed the last vestige of Roman power in the West, exactly ten years after the Western cæsars had ceased to reign.

After Soissons Clovis rapidly and peacefully extended Frankish power over the residue of northern Gaul. The local Roman population was probably indifferent to the change, and certainly inert. We

Nature of the Frankish conquest in Gaul

have no clear evidence of spoliation. "The land tenure seems to have been disturbed as little as possible. Here and there in the heat of conquest there may have been cases of spoliation and violence. But there is no trace of the partition of estates such as was clearly enforced under the Burgundian and Visigothic kings. Clovis, coming into posses-

GERMANIC KINGDOMS
ON ROMAN SOIL
IN FIFTH CENTURY
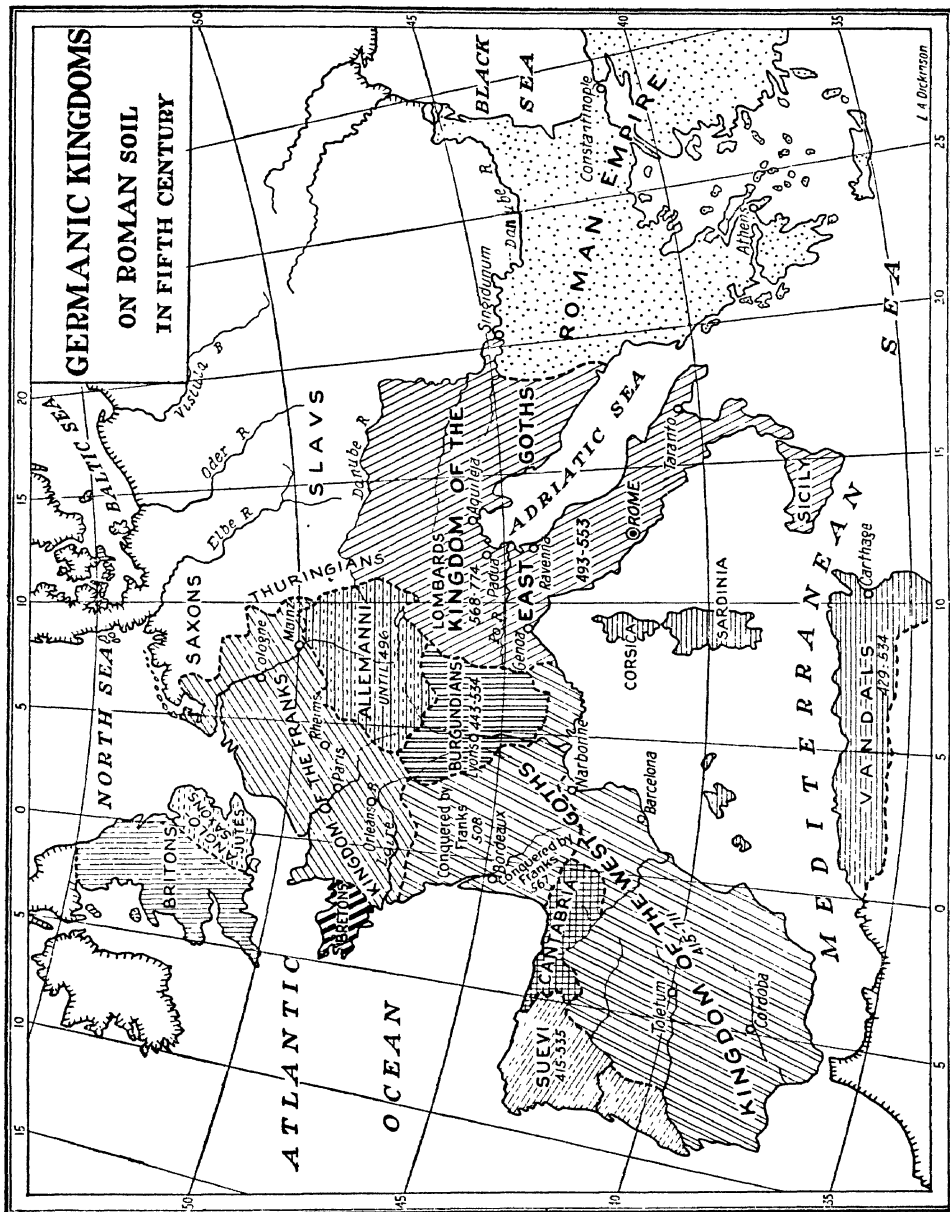
sion of the treasures of the Roman fisc, together with the booty which always falls to a victorious invader, had ample means of rewarding his leading followers; and he had the derelict lands which belonged to the imperial government in Gaul to distribute. Moreover, a population probably dwindling in the barbarian raids and inroads of a hundred years must have left great tracts open for new settlers. . . . Everything goes to show that long after the noises of the invasion had died away numbers of Gallo-Roman families were enjoying undisturbed the lands of their ancestors. It would be difficult to discover any sign of hate and bitterness between the two races." [1]

Cæsar would not have recognized the three parts into which Gaul was divided in 486, for each was a German kingdom. West Goth, Burgundian, and Frank had divided ancient Roman Gaul among them and given it names that would have sounded strange to Roman ears.

Frankish movement an expansion, not a migration

The movement of the Franks was very different from that of the other Germanic peoples and had a profound effect upon their history. Their movement was an expansion and not a migration. The other German nations—Goths, Vandals, Burgundians—had moved entirely out of their ancient seats and, after years of wandering, settled in lands far distant from Germany in the midst of a Latin population. Contact with the homeland was permanently lost, and slowly each in turn became less German and more Roman. Not so with the Franks. They expanded from their homeland in the lower Rhine valley, adding one conquered territory after another to their dominion; but their center of gravity remained fixed, and unlike every other German invading nation they maintained their contacts with Germany and the German tribes that remained there long after Goth and Vandal, Burgundian and Lombard, had quit the land forever. In consequence, the Franks preserved their Germanic culture and vigor, whereas the other German nations were fused with the latinized peoples among which they settled.

Conquest of the Alemanni (496)

The Franks expanded not only westward and southward, but eastward and northeastward as well. In 496 the Alemanni, from the upper Rhine and the Vosges, began to press hard upon the Ripuarian Franks lying below them. They appealed to Clovis for support. In probably two campaigns, one in 496, the other in 501, he destroyed the

[1] S. DILL, *Roman Society in Merovingian Gaul*, pp. 114–15.

independence of the Alemanni. Thereafter Alemania, the territory of modern Alsace, Baden and Württemberg in southwestern Germany, was ruled by the Frankish monarchy.

The importance of the Franko-Alemannic war is twofold. In the first place, it is evidence that the Franks expanded to the east-southeast as well as to the west-southwest. They had refused to be pushed on and dispossesed by the pressure of the Alemanni. In stopping the Alemanni, they not only preserved their own contact with old Germany and maintained the contiguity of their territories, but also arrested the farther westward drift of the rest of the German tribes which remained in Germany, as the Bavarians, Thuringians, Hessians and Saxons. For the first time in many centuries the current of the migrations was checked.

But even more important was the formal recognition of Catholic Christianity by the Frank King and his own conversion in 496. The *Conversion of* Gallo-Roman Catholic bishops of the South, who were sustaining a *the Franks to* difficult cause against the Arian faith of the Burgundian and West *Catholic faith* Gothic kings, had watched with keen interest the expansion of the Franks over the North. They saw that Clovis, although pagan and more barbarian than the Burgundians and West Goths, had not dispossessed Catholic proprietors, had not molested the clergy and, indeed, from the beginning had shown deference to the northern bishops. All the clergy of Gaul began to hope that the Franks might be converted to orthodox Christianity, especially after Clovis married Chlotilde, the daughter of King Gundobald of Burgundy, who had been converted to Catholicism. Hard pressed in the thick of the fight with the Alemanni somewhere in Alsace, the Frank King promised, in the event of victory, to acknowledge the God of the Christians. With many of his warriors he was baptized at Christmastide, 496.

Though no deep spiritual revolution was wrought in Clovis's charac- *The Church* ter a letter of Avitus, Bishop of Vienne and the most learned and in- *and the Frank-* fluential prelate in Gaul, shows the immense significance the Catholic *ish kings* clergy attached to Clovis's conversion. In addressing Clovis he congratulates him at length on his military victory and on the fact that the eyes of his heart have been opened to see the true light and assures the King that the Church is interested in his *future* victories, that every one of his battles will be a battle for the cross. Clovis's act determined the destiny of the Frank nation. The conversion of the

Franks to Catholicism gained them the support of the large Catholic population, not alone of Gaul, but of the entire West. It permitted sympathy and co-operation—a fusion between Germans and Romans, impossible for the Goths or Burgundians. It stimulated their conquest of the Burgundians and the Visigoths. It guaranteed the alliance of the Frank crown and the episcopacy, and pledged the crown to the protection of Christian missionaries in Gaul and Germany. It made possible the alliance of the Carolingian kings and the papacy, and culminated in the Romano-Frank ecclesiastical Empire of Charles the Great in 800.

So strong was the Church's belief that Clovis was a divine instrument that the pious Gregory of Tours condones his murders, bloodshed, and treachery on the ground that they were for the service of God. He writes of him: "Thus did God each day deliver his enemies into his hands, and increase his realm, because he walked with a perfect heart before Him and did that which was right in His sight." Bitter was the hatred between Arian and Catholic. This religious *Conquest of* prejudice inspired the Frank attack upon the Burgundians and Visi- *the Bur-* goths. In 500 Clovis forced the Burgundians to pay tribute, though *gundians* *and Visigoths* for a time the energy of King Gundobald saved them from complete conquest. In 507 war broke out between the Franks and the West Goths. The Goths were defeated and Alaric II was slain at Vouglé. In the spring of 508 Clovis captured Toulouse and Angoulême. Later in the year the Frankish army was beaten in Provence by Theodoric the Ostrogothic King, who had interfered to protect the West Goths. Arles, which had been besieged, was relieved. The war between the Franks and the East Goths ended in 510. Clovis preserved the West Gothic kingdom as far as the Garonne River, including Toulouse; Theodoric remained master of Provence and the Narbonnaise.

When Clovis died, in 511, Frankish territory included both banks of the Rhine and all Gaul except Armorica (Brittany), Gascony, and *New Conquests* Provence. He divided this wide territory, inhabited by such different *of the Franks* and mixed peoples into four roughly equal parts among his four sons. But this was not intended to be, and was not, a dismemberment of the Frankish kingdom. The four "kingdoms," each with its own "capital" —Reims, Orléans, Paris, Soissons—together formed the greater monarchy, though there was no single ruler. In spite of strife between the brothers the work of expansion and conquest went on. The Narbon-

naise (thereafter called Septimania) was acquired in 531; Thuringia
in 530, Auvergne in 532; tributary Burgundy was incorporated in *Four grand*
534, Bavaria in 554–5, Gascony in 567. Thus the conquests of the *visions of the*
Frankish kin
father were widened by the sons. The Frankish frontier was marked *dom*
by the Inn River on the east, by the Pyrenees on the west. In 558,
after the death of his three brothers, Chlotair I united the four
"realms" again as it had been under his father.

CONQUESTS OF THE FRANKS
IN THE TIME OF CLOVIS
486-511
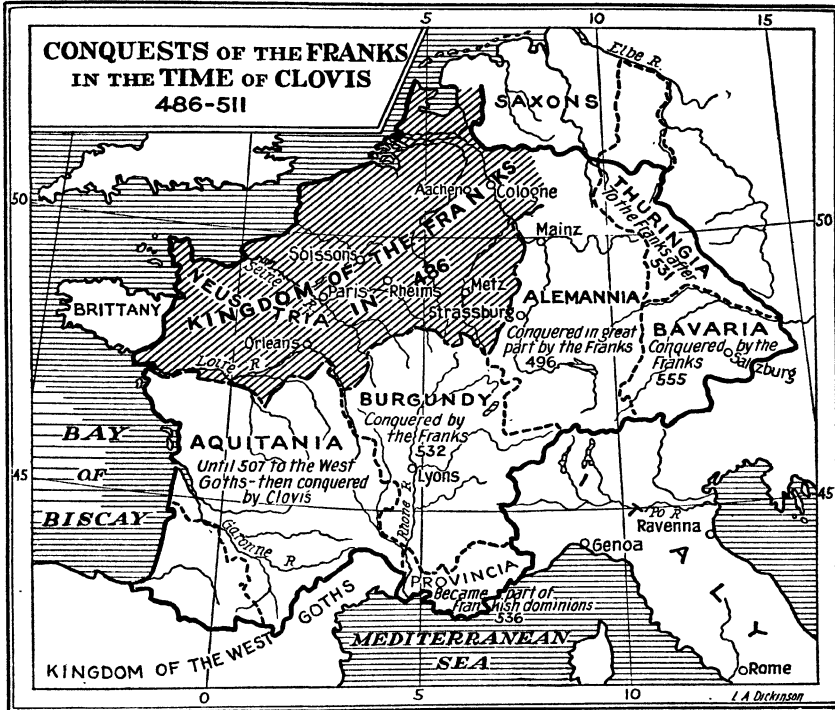
When Chlotair I died in 561, for the second time the Frankish
kingdom was partitioned among four sons. By this time, partly be-
cause of the precedent of 511, but much more because of historic dif-
ferences inherited from the past and the great variation in the popu-
lation in each of them, these four "kingdoms" tended more and
more to separate into distinct political and social entities—in a word,
to become historical. These four grand divisions or "realms" which
formed the Frankish kingdom, by the beginning of the seventh cen-

tury, were Austrasia, Neustria, Burgundy and Aquitaine. Roughly, the first included northeastern Gaul and the Rhine and Danube lands as far as the Inn river; Neustria (possibly Neu-Austrasia or New Austrasia) was northern Gaul from the Meuse to the Loire and answered to Clovis's first conquest after 486; Burgundy was approximately the former kingdom of the Burgundians; Aquitaine represented the territory wrenched from the West Goths. In culture the two northern kingdoms were predominantly Germanic, the two southern predominantly Latin; but within these categories there was wide cultural variation and racial distinction. Austrasia was almost purely German, the Roman element being condensed principally around Reims, Metz and Toul. Neustria was less German than Austrasia, but less Roman than the two kingdoms in the south, the Roman population being densest around Paris, Orléans and Tours. Burgundy was Germanized, but the Latin culture there was strong, and the majority of the population of Latin lineage. Aquitaine was like Burgundy except that in Gascony south of the Garonne the Basque population of the Pyrenees had crept down from the mountains and were spreading over the plain.

End of the heroic era

The year 561 terminated the heroic era of the Franks, the period of expansion and conquest. Between 567 and 613, and again between 674 and 687, two long and terrible civil wars ruptured the Frankish kingdom—wars which profoundly changed the direction of Frankish political history and as profoundly altered its culture. To that period we shall return later.

We must now pick up the thread of Italian history where we dropped it, in the year 476.

Ostrogothic Conquest of Italy (489)

In Italy in 489—three years after Soissons—the nominal rule, through Odovaker, of the Roman emperors seated at Constantinople was terminated by the invasion of the East Goths under Theodoric, and save as a legal fiction, imperial domination in all the West was completely ended.

We remember that the East Goths were overwhelmed by the Huns in 375, and that the West Goths escaped by crossing the Danube and finding refuge within the Roman Empire. For seventy-seven years the East Goths, together with the Heruli and Rugii, were carried along by the Huns. They even fought with Attila at Châlons against their kinsmen, the West Goths. Release for all of these cap-

tive nations came with the death of Attila, in 452, and the collapse of the Hunnic power. But it was a precarious and comfortless species of liberty. The condition in the Danubian provinces was dreadful. Above the great bend of the river only the most meager remnants of Roman civilization yet survived. The former Roman towns were ruined, and the population of both town and country was fearfully reduced in numbers and stricken with poverty. The land was filled with famished peasants, vagabonds, brigands, wandering bands of soldiery who preyed upon the countryside, and fragments of barbarized and broken German tribes—all the terrible aftermath of the retreat of the Huns.

The Heruli and Rugii escaped into Italy, where under Odovaker they played a part in the downfall of 476. But the East Goths, who were stranded in Mœsia and Thrace after Attila's death, could only find service in the frontier garrisons of the Roman Empire. Again they experienced all the ancient evils of corrupt paymasters, hard quarters, little food. Periodically they mutinied, and they were as often crushed, and forced to give hostages for their future good deportment. Thus the East Gothic King Theodoric was sent as a hostage to Constantinople, where he became the pet of the most luxurious and corrupt court of the time and became fascinated with the civilization and culture of the Roman world. He was made a senator, a captain of the imperial body-guard, even consul—strange and empty honors for a barbarian chieftain whose people were practically outcasts dependent upon the niggardly support of the imperial government. But Theodoric could not be tempted to desert his people. He remembered his people, dying of hunger and privation on the barren frontiers, and escaped to them in 474.

For years Theodoric and his followers wandered around the Balkans, fighting sometimes against the emperor, sometimes in his service. The Emperor Zeno, to free himself from Theodoric, finally agreed to give Italy to the Ostrogoths. In the autumn of 488 the Ostrogoths began their march and in the spring of 489 they crossed the Adige into Italy. They defeated Odovaker in three engagements, *Occupation of Italy by the Ostrogoths (489)* drove him into Ravenna, and rapidly subdued the peninsula. Soon afterwards Odovaker was murdered. Legally Theodoric was the viceroy of the emperor in Italy; in fact, he was the independent ruler of a great Ostrogothic kingdom, comprehending almost all of the old Prefecture of Italy, Sicily, Noricum, Rhætia, Pannonia, Dalmatia, Illyria,

even Provence. Corsica and Sardinia remained in the hands of the Vandals.

During his long reign Theodoric changed relatively few of the existing institutions in Italy. The senate, the magistrates, the administrative system, the schools, the monuments, were still preserved. The Goths themselves were settled on a part of the public lands and private property was not disturbed. The Goths in theory preserved their own law for themselves, but in practice it was so Romanized that within a few generations it would have wholly disappeared. For the rest, Roman law was continued. Unlike the Germans elsewhere, Theodoric preserved the old Roman separation of civil and military functions and thereby prevented the fusion of the aristocracy of the two races. The Roman civil officials and the Gothic military officials were intensely jealous of each other. This antagonism was accentuated by the difference in religion, though Theodoric, an Arian, was tolerant of all other sects. The kingship, modeled upon imperial authority, was absolute, and at Ravenna were a prætorian prefect, a quæstor, a master of the offices, and bureaux and officials similar to those at Constantinople. The most illustrious of Theodoric's ministers, Cassiodorus and Boethius, were of the Italian nobility. In his government Theodoric thus sought to conciliate the senatorial class.

But the Romano-Gothic structure could not be permanent. The Ostrogoths numbered hardly more than two hundred and fifty thousand amid a population of nine or ten millions. They were not, like the Franks, in direct contact with a German homeland and inevitably tended to be absorbed. In spite of his wide influence, in spite of the brilliance of the court at Verona or Ravenna, the patronage of letters and the arts, the construction of aqueducts, roads, bridges and baths, the work of Theodoric could not endure. The vivid memory of ancient Rome, the proximity and jealousy of the Eastern Empire, religious fanaticism, and finally the restoration of imperial power by Justinian, all combined to defeat his effort to found a permanent kingdom. His last years were bitter. The King suspected the Italian nobility and Boethius and Symmachus, the two most brilliant of his Roman subjects, though probably innocent, were put to death for treason (525). Theodoric himself died in the next year.

After the death of Theodoric, Justinian sent an army to Italy to regain it for his empire. The Goths resisted bravely for years, but

after 553, broken and dispersed, they disappeared from history as a distinct nation.

Except for the Lombard invasion of northern Italy in 568, which was an isolated phenomenon, the Ostrogoth invasion of 489 ended the great migrations. By this time the Western Empire had collapsed. Britain, Gaul, Spain and Africa were German kingdoms. The actual Roman Empire was limited to the Balkan peninsula, Greece, Asia, Egypt and Cyrenaica, that is, to the eastern half of the double empire established at the death of Theodosius I, in 395.

We have already seen that the Roman legions had been withdrawn from Britain in 442. In the ensuing one hundred and fifty years Britain almost disappeared from history. When the veil rises it was no longer Britain, but England.

The Angles, Saxons and Jutes, Teutons from the Danish peninsula and the North Sea coast of Germany, had raided Britain intermittently in the fourth century. After the withdrawal of the Roman *English inva-* legions from Britain they renewed their attacks in a small counterpart *vasion of* of the great barbarian invasions on the continent. They now brought *Britain* their families with them and by the end of the next century they had overrun most of modern England except Cornwall. Whereas on the continent the barbarians finally settled down among the conquered peoples, adopted their language and their Christian religion, the conquerors of Britain seem to have driven the native Celts before them. Christianity disappeared, where once it had been widespread. The invaders were not themselves unified, but set up several tribal *Seven King-* kingdoms: the Jutes settled largely in Kent; the Saxons in Essex, *doms* Sussex and Wessex (east, south and west Saxons); and the Angles in East Anglia, Mercia and Northumberland. Warfare seems to have been continuous and leadership of the Heptarchy—the name for the seven main kingdoms—passed from one tribal leader to another.

At the end of the sixth century Ethelbert of Kent had established *Conversion of* his leadership. He had married the daughter of the Frank king *England* and so was already familiar with Christianity when Augustine, a *Conversion of* missionary sent out by Gregory the Great, landed in Kent in 597. *the Saxons* Augustine converted Ethelbert and shortly other missionaries had converted many others. In Northumbria the Roman missionaries met missionaries from the north who spread the influence of the Irish

monasteries which had been founded by St. Patrick. During the long period when the Irish had not been in touch with Rome, they had developed a few differences which for a time threatened to produce a schism between the two bodies of Christians. At the Council of Wisby in 664, King Oswy of Northumberland decided in favor of the Roman practices and the missionaries from the north accepted. Theodore of Tarsus, an Archbishop of Canterbury, instituted fifteen dioceses in England and so established a unified church government before the kingdoms themselves were united.

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CHAPTER V

THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE (330–802)

WHEN in 330 Constantine transformed the ancient Greek city of Byzantium into the imperial capital to which he gave his name, the history of the Eastern Roman or Byzantine Empire began. Although in political theory the Roman Empire was still one, actually an Eastern and a Western Empire were created by the partition made by Theodosius the Great in 395 between his sons, Arcadius and Honorius. Cultural differences accentuated this political separation. The West was Latin and fast becoming Germanized; the East was Greek or Hellenized-oriental in its populations, its language, its past history, and its future outlook. Moreover, religious discrepancies between the Church in the East and the Church in the West accentuated this cleavage. The Eastern Church was Greek. The Western Church was Latin. The history of the Eastern Empire is the history of a single city—Constantinople—and of its Hellenic civilization. The history of the West is the history of the Latin and Teutonic nations, of variety rather than uniformity, of a ruder, but more virile culture.

Importance of the founding of Constantinople (330)

Separate history of the Byzantine Empire begins in 395

The long endurance of the Byzantine Empire is in itself impressive. Undoubtedly the chief reason for this long history was the physical situation of the capital. Constantinople was practically impregnable and as long as Constantinople was free the Empire still survived, however reduced and maimed it might be. Other factors made for the permanence of the Empire. The government was so vast and complicated a mechanism that it was nearly impossible to destroy it. Again, the vitality of Hellenism was so great that although it slowly lost ground against Slavonic, Bulgarian, Isaurian, Persian and Mohammedan penetration, and at last was vital only in Constantinople itself and in Thrace, it lost so gradually and it absorbed or disarmed its adversaries so often that the Empire was able to survive for centuries.

Importance of Byzantine history

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In Constantinople the dynasty of Theodosius continued down to 450 in Arcadius (395–408) and Theodosius II (408–50). Though he possessed no eminent talents, Theodosius II is remembered for the famous codification of the Roman civil law which was made in 438 and to which his name was attached. More than any other single Roman source this body of laws influenced the Germanic peoples, especially the Goths, and formed the basis of legal administration in both Spain and Italy. The next seventy-seven years were marked by a succession of cautious and able emperors, who through administrative and financial reforms, left the Empire with a strong army and a full treasury, prepared for the demands Justinian was to make upon it.

Theodosian Code (438)

Though the reign of Justinian (527–65) was characterized by imperial restoration, at his accession the condition of the Empire was precarious. The West seemed irretrievably lost and the government too weak to recover the lost provinces. In the East Persia again became formidable with the accession of Justinian's able contemporary, Chosroes I (531–79), the greatest of all the Sassanid dynasty. Justinian has been reproached for the expenditure of much blood and treasure in western wars, when the German kingdoms, save the Vandals, were harmless, while the danger from Persia was very real. But if Justinian had not tried to reconquer the West, he would have broken with the whole tradition of the Roman Empire. Justinian's western wars preserved the Roman contacts of the Byzantine Empire and prevented it from becoming a wholly Asiatic state.

Justinian (527–65)

Anti-German policy

The Vandals were weakened by the African climate and admixture with the native Punic population. They had never developed a civilization, but had always been simply a predatory state. Justinian's conquest of Africa was incredibly swift. The Vandal King Gelimar had sent his fleet and part of his army to subdue a rebellion in Sardinia. Belisarius, sent by Justinian, found the sea open, landed at Caput Vada and marched on Carthage (533). There the remnants of the Catholic and Roman population rapturously welcomed him. In two battles he destroyed the Vandal kingdom. The Vandal leaders were deported to the East, the soldiery and their wives and children enslaved. The imperial fisc, the Church, and the Roman population resumed possession of the lands of which they had been deprived.

Vandal war (533)

Justinian then turned to Italy. He demanded payment of an

annual tribute by the Goths, three thousand Gothic soldiers for his army, the immunity of the Catholic Church from Gothic jurisdiction, the right to appoint all members of the senate, and recognition of the overlordship of the Empire over Gothic Italy. While the Goths were negotiating with Justinian, Belisarius crossed from Sicily to the mainland, and captured Naples in 536. Later Rome was captured. For twenty years a bitter, desperate war was waged in Italy. The Goths, under a succession of leaders, and despite some terrible defeats, refused to yield. They recaptured Naples in 543 and Rome in 546. But after their defeat at Taginia (552), their last king was killed and their power was broken. The material and social ruin of Italy was almost complete when the war ended. War, famine, and pestilence had enormously reduced the population. Many of the great families had been broken up; the lesser degrees of the population were sunk in desperate poverty; brigandage was rampant; wolves infested the rural regions and even invaded the towns. In the northeast the populace of Padua, Aquileia, and other towns near the coast fled to the lagoons in the Adriatic, since the invasions of Alaric and Attila the refuge of increasing numbers of people. Thus was begun the city of Venice. *Conquest of Ostrogothic Italy*

Beginnings of Venice

Administratively, however, Italy was little altered. The ancient prefecture of Italy in the fifth century was reduced by the loss of Africa, Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica, but the form of government in the peninsula was not changed. Under the high authority of the prætorian prefect, assisted by the two vicars of Rome and of Italy, the Italian provinces continued to be administered by civil officials, and the separation of civil and military functions was maintained. In a word, an exact image of the former imperial government was established in Italy.

In Visigothic Spain, Justinian continued (554) his ambitious design to make the Mediterranean a Roman lake once more. He soon controlled the chief towns in the south—Seville, Malaga, Carthagena and Cordoba. *Partial Conquest of Spain (554)*

Justinian's victories in the West were seriously compromised, however, by reverses in the East. In order to satisfy his dreams of overcoming the West, he imperiled, even sacrificed, the interests of the Empire in the East. He failed to follow up the victory over the Persians won by Belisarius at Dara in 530. To be free for his war *Persian Wars*

on the Vandals he paid tribute to Chosroes in 532. This was the beginning of humiliation after humiliation. Between 540 and 545 the Persians renewed the war and captured Dara, ravaged Syria, occupied Antioch. Rather than abandon Italy, Justinian bought the Persians off in 545, and again in 561.

New barbarian assaults

While Justinian fought in both West and East to extend or to preserve the Empire, he also had to protect the Balkan peninsula from new barbarians, Slavs, Bulgarians, and Avars. Actually the security of the Balkans was of more importance to the Eastern Roman Empire than the conquest of Italy and Africa, and fully as important as the war against Persia, although, Justinian does not seem to have realized it. Along the northern frontier from the mouth of the Save to the mouths of the Danube, Justinian erected a row of eighty fortresses and then within this barrier, a line of six hundred lesser fortified places through Epirus, Thessaly, Thrace, and Macedonia. He protected the pass of Thermopylæ, the isthmus of Corinth, and the Thracian Chersonese by long walls. In Asia from Trebizond to the Euphrates he similarly defended the frontier. Still further to harden the most exposed part of Asia Minor, the link between Constantinople and Syria, he united the provinces of Pontus, Paphlagonia, Armenia, Cappadocia and Galatia under a single governor, who combined civil and military rule. This reform had very important consequences; it began the system of themes that in the seventh century supplanted the old provincial organization.

Origin of theme system

But Justinian's permanent monument is the *Corpus Juris*—that great codification of the Roman law which he instituted. To perform the stupendous task Justinian employed a board of trained lawyers, under the direction of Tribonian. After fourteen months' work this commission issued the *Code* in twelve books (529), which included the imperial rescripts and edicts and the *consulta* of the senate. This was followed by the *Institutes* (533), a brief treatise that stated the fundamental principles of Roman jurisprudence and was intended rather for students of the law. Then came the *Digest*, or *Pandects*, a redaction of the rest of the civil law not otherwise included, together with opinions of prominent jurisconsults. In this last tremendous task three million lines of law were compressed to one hundred and fifty thousand. Justinian's own laws were codified in the *Novels* and significantly published in Greek (565). In the Greek Church his policy

Codifications of the Roman law

of "cæsaropapism" carried political and ecclesiastical centralization so *Cæsaropapism* far that he was at once emperor and "pope," for the patriarch of Constantinople had much dignity and little power. On the other hand, Justinian's policy towards Rome was singularly open and liberal—a policy that had its influence upon the development of the papacy.

In Justinian's time the commerce and industry of Constantinople *Commerce and* rivaled, if it did not exceed, that of Alexandria. From China and *industry* India came silks, precious stones, lacquers, perfumes, dyes, spices. From Russia came slaves, horses, furs, leather, hemp, tar, rope and ship stores in general. The mines in the Balkan mountains were still worked; the plain around Adrianople was a fertile agricultural region; the provinces of Asia Minor were densely peopled, and apparently prosperous. But in spite of Justinian's real solicitude for the welfare of his people, there was widespread misery among them. His vast enterprises exhausted the treasury and caused heavier taxation, and as usually happens, official corruption increased the tax burden. A year after Justinian's death his successor complained that the treasury was crushed by debt and that the army was unpaid and undisciplined.

Justinian, like his greatest predecessors, was an engineering emperor, a great road- and bridge-builder. His famous architects, Anthemius of Tralles and Isidor of Miletus rebuilt the Biblioteca, or library, the emperor's palace, and, most important of all, created a new and glorious type of architecture in the Church of St. Sophia, whose enormous yet graceful dome was to influence so profoundly subsequent styles of architecture.

As a ruler Justinian was despotic, an austere lover of pomp, avari- *Character of* cious, ungrateful, suspicious; but in a city festering with sedition and *Justinian* in a corrupt court he could not well have been otherwise. The nature of Justinian's public improvements in Constantinople attests his austere character: twenty-five churches in the city and its suburbs and many in the provinces, hospitals, roads, bridges, piers, aqueducts, fortresses, but no theaters or baths.

Justinian's codification of the Roman law and his great architectural creations have survived; his conquests were soon lost. In the reign of his nephew Justin II (565–78), under Tiberius (578–82), *Reign of the* under Maurice (582–602), under the usurper Phokas (602–10), *Emperor Maurice (582–602.)* there was almost steady decline within and barbarian irruption from

without. The only one of these rulers worthy of being remembered is the Emperor Maurice. His political policy was to make peace with Persia, even to sacrifice Italy, and bend all the resources of the State towards preserving the integrity of the Balkan peninsula and insuring the safety of Asia Minor. The disintegration of the Huns in the fifth century had made room for a new Asian people, the Avars, in the plains between the Volga and the Don. Until 592 he was almost continually at war with Persia. Between 570 and 600 the Slavs and Avars made inroads deep into Thrace and Macedonia.

Avars

Maurice was murdered in 602 by the usurper Phokas and almost immediately the Persians made war again, captured Dara, marched across Asia Minor, and laid siege to Chalcedon on the Bosphorus. Incapable and cowardly, Phokas increased the tribute paid to the Avars and began a reign of terror in Constantinople. The best generals in the army refused to serve, and some of them even secretly connived with the Persians to overthrow one of the most bloodthirsty tyrants in history. A group of officials finally plotted with Heraclius, exarch of Carthage, whose son, also called Heraclius, was crowned emperor in 610. At his accession the treasury was empty: the provinces were exhausted and almost in a condition of anarchy. In 614 the Persians overran Syria and captured Jerusalem and two years later captured Egypt. All the Asiatic territory of the Empire was lost except western Asia Minor, together with the rich port of Alexandria and the wheat-growing fields of the Nile. The Empire was reduced to the Balkans, Greece, the Ægean Islands, Lower Italy, Carthaginian Africa and part of Asia Minor.

*Misgovern-
ment of
Phokas
(602-10)*

*Accession of
Heraclius*

Heraclius spent twelve years in rehabilitating the government, and preparing munitions and equipment for another struggle with Persia. In the spring of 622 he sailed to the gulf of Issus. There he defeated the Persians, recovered Cappadocia and Armenia, and forced the Persians to retire from Asia Minor. Within three years more Heraclius had compelled the Persians to retire from Syria, Palestine, Egypt.

*War with
Persia*

Finally in 626 he advanced down the Tigris-Euphrates valley into the heart of the Persian Empire. Near the ruins of Nineveh, not far from Alexander's battlefield of Arbela, on December 12, 627, he crushed the Persians. Chosroes fled from the field as Darius had done at Arbela. The victor then advanced upon Ctesiphon, the Persian capital, but forbore to lay siege to it when he found himself

surrounded by thousands of Christian captives whom the Persians had deported from Syria and Egypt. Persia became the prey of revolution. The army mutinied, Chosroes was murdered and succeeded by his son Kobad (628–9), who made peace with the emperor. Shahrbarz, the Persian generalissimo, usurped the throne and was murdered two months later. During the next nine years two daughters of Chosroes II, ten Persian nobles, and Isdigers, a grandson of Chosroes II, succeeded to the throne. Torn within, Persia was stormed from without by Mohammedanized Arabs in the first flush of their conquests. In 641, at the battle of Nehavend—"victory of victories" —the Arabs destroyed the Sassanid dynasty and Persia. *Byzantine Invasion of Persia (627)* *Mohammedan conquest of Persia (641)*

In the Balkan peninsula, during the reign of Heraclius, advance guards of Serbs and Croatians, hard-pressed by the Avars, drifted in compact masses into Thrace and Macedonia, settled among the depleted population there, and filtered into Illyria, Greece and the Peloponnesus. The fate of the Balkans, if not of the Byzantine Empire, was fixed. The culminating point of this drive was the siege of Constantinople in 626. *Slavonic invasions in the Balkans*

The history of the Byzantine Empire between the death of Heraclius in 641 and the extinction in 717 of the dynasty that he founded is a melancholy one. There were futile efforts to resist Islam—Cyprus was captured in 649, Rhodes in 653, Constantinople attacked in 667 and again in 672–3, Africa was wholly conquered by 709. There was Slavonic turbulence in the Balkan hinterland. In addition new barbarians came out of Russia, the Bulgarians, a people of Finnic or Tartar stock. Their oldest home was in "Old" Bulgaria, on the Volga, whence they had migrated in the wake of the Avars. They now crossed the Danube and penetrated as far as the Hæmus mountains (679). *Bulgarians*

In this critical condition of internal disorganization and external peril, the Byzantine Empire found a new ruler in Leo III, the Isaurian (717–41), a man of rare courage, intelligence, and energy. That same year a great Mohammedan fleet and army attacked Constantinople for the third time, besieged it a whole year, and retired, unsuccessful. Far more than Charles Martel's later victory at Tours in 732, Leo III, in repulsing Islam before Constantinople, saved Christendom. In 718 he suppressed an insurrection in Sicily; in 720 he repelled a Bulgarian attack through the Hæmus mountains; *Leo III the Isaurian (717–41)*

and in 726 he defeated a fourth Mohammedan assault upon Constantinople. At this time the Arabs first invaded Asia Minor from Syria, devastating Armenia, Cappadocia, and Bithynia. The last great achievement of Leo III was a brilliant victory over the Arab invaders in Asia Minor in 741. Near the fortress of Akroenos on the ancient road

running from Tarsus to Constantinople, he defeated and slew the Arab general Said-al-Batal-al-Ghazi, known as "Said the Terrible."

The civil policy of Leo III was as remarkable as his military ability. He reorganized the army; converted the old provincial or-

ganization into the theme system, whereby several adjacent provinces were united and in which civil and military functions were combined in the hands of a single governor, with the military authority the superior one; introduced order into the administration of the finances; reorganized the system of taxation; reformed the Church; restrained the power of the great landed aristocracy; relieved the peasantry of their worst burdens; promoted agriculture, commerce, and industry. So thorough were these reforms and so subversive were they of the old order of things that his opponents dubbed him an iconoclast.

The emperor's chief purpose, however, was to break the power of Greek monasticism. Its vast wealth, exempt from taxation, its enormous liberties and immunities, made it positively dangerous to the State. The monks, fanatical adherents of image-worship, provoked dissension everywhere. For reasons of their own many of the great nobles supported the monks. The Greek Church was split into two camps, the populace everywhere divided. Popes Gregory II and Gregory III sternly remonstrated with the emperor and Gregory III excommunicated him in 731. The controversy dragged on for

years and was not finally settled until the ninth century, when image-worship triumphed. Our chief interest in the Iconoclastic Controversy (the term applied to the imperial effort to suppress image-worship) is in its effect upon Italy and the papacy. Central Italy, Rome, Ravenna, the Pentapolis sided with the Pope; Sicily and lower Italy with the emperor. In retaliation for his excommunication the emperor confiscated the papal patrimony in Sicily and southern Italy, separated the bishoprics of Sicily and the south from papal jurisdiction, and put them under that of the patriarch of Constantinople. Ecclesiastically the Iconoclastic Controversy helped to separate the Greek and Latin Churches and to elevate the papacy in the Latin

Church. Politically the Pope became more and more an Italian prince, no longer subservient to the Byzantine Empire; this change in turn induced him to look towards the Franks in Gaul for protection against the Lombards. Politically, and culturally also, Italy was divided into a Latin center, a Greek south, a German Lombard north. In the ensuing years the southern provinces of Italy and the island of Sicily were heavily Hellenized by the emigration of many thousands—proprietors, clergy, monks and common people—from the Balkan peninsula—a movement that was stimulated by the continual Slavonic and Bulgarian pressure there.

When Leo III died in 741, the Byzantine Empire, torn within by factional and religious strife and harried from without by aggressive foes, barbarian and Arabic, nevertheless carried on effectively. Its vitality was amazing. The energy of Leo III notably characterized his son Constantine V, Copronymus (741–75). For three years he reigned without a capital, for a usurper put up by the orthodox party held Constantinople until Constantine V defeated him in three pitched battles. Then Constantine V astutely diverted the interest of his opponents at home to the dangers abroad. Profiting by the internal strife in the Khalifate under the Ommeyad princes the emperor took the offensive in Asia. In 746 he recovered Germanicia and the greater part of Commagene from the Mohammedans; in 748 he repulsed an Arabic attack on Cyprus. In 752 he captured Malatia, on the upper Euphrates, for a short time. Constantine V was no less active in defending the Balkan provinces against the Bulgarians. He repaired the frontier fortresses, fortified the defiles of the Balkan mountains, and, to Hellenize the Slavonic population already in Thrace, colonized thousands of Syrians and Armenians, driven out by the Arabs, in the land. Thus when in 755 the Bulgarians made a new assault upon the frontier, the Byzantine Empire found itself secure. Thessalonica vigorously resisted siege; after Constantine V defeated them at Strymon, he colonized thousands of Bulgarians in Bithynia. In four offensive campaigns the emperor then carried the war into the heart of the Bulgarian country (759, 760, 763, 765). Thus he frustrated "the not improbable forecast of a Bulgarian Constantinople holding the hegemony of the Balkan peninsula."

Byzantium vs. Islam

Bulgarian danger

The short reign of Leo IV (775–80) had nothing significant in it, but his early decease brought to imperial power one of the most

Vicious rule of the Empress Irene

fascinating and sinister women of history, the notorious Empress Irene, his widow, and regent for many years for her son Constantine VI (780–97). Conscience and principle were strangers to the mind of this Byzantine prototype of Catherine de' Medici. Irene, as one might expect, abandoned the Isaurian reforms and "by this policy covered herself with glory in the eyes of orthodox posterity; she received the eulogies of popes, and the monks who basked in the light of her countenance, extolled her as a saint." Her favorite ministers were two unprincipled eunuchs of the palace, both of them prodigious grafters. The repulse of another threatened Bulgar invasion and a naval victory in 792 over the Arabs at Attalia so inflated Irene's arrogance and ambition that in 797 she blinded and deposed her son and reigned alone, not as a regent, but as an autocrat, in defiance of the historical tradition that a woman might not be empress in her own name and might reign only in the name of an emperor, as Pulcheria had done in the fifth century and as Irene herself had done during her son's minority.

This bold usurpation deeply offended two elements within the Empire: the army, in which the spirit of iconoclasm was still strong, especially in the Asiatic regiments; and the magnates (*dunatoi*), or great landowners. Perhaps the singular negotiations of the desperate empress with Charlemagne, in which her marriage to the Frank emperor was suggested as a means of uniting western and eastern Europe in a new Roman Empire, were the immediate occasion of the conspiracy that brought about Irene's downfall, in 802. Nicephorus I became emperor. This palace revolution in 802 marks a turning-point in the history of the Byzantine Empire, singularly coincident with the imperial coronation of Charlemagne in Rome in 800.

Palace revolution (802)

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CHAPTER VI

MOHAMMED AND ISLAM
THE RISE OF THE ARABIC EMPIRE

Although near the great Empires of antiquity—Chaldea, Assyria, Persia, Egypt, the Macedonian Empire of Alexander the Great, the Roman Empire—Arabia had never been conquered, and except among a few tribes dwelling along the coasts of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, Arabian culture had never been influenced by the great civilizations round about it. The reason for this immunity is readily found in its physical geography. Arabia is a peninsula of continental dimensions, surrounded on three sides by water, and separated from western Asia by a broad desert. Although fairly pure in blood, the Arabs before Mohammed's time were far from being politically united, but were divided into clans and septs, each group with its patriarchal chieftain or sheik. Even among the more highly civilized townspeople this clan tradition persisted. The nomad was known by his tribe, the townsman by his family. "Learn your genealogies," said Omar. The interior tribes, or Bedawi, were pastoral, living upon their flocks and herds. They were not entirely nomadic, however, for each clan from time immemorial possessed the particular right to some oasis. Their principal food stuffs were dates from the trees in the oases, and the flesh of their animals. Arabic social structure and institutions were the natural result of the system of clans and the desert economy. Interminable tribal wars were broken only for the four months of the "sacred" spring season, when the great fairs at Mecca and Medina were held. Usually these feuds arose from conflicts over water-wells and oases, or from sheep- and camel-raiding. This hardy manner of life bred a love of freedom, a roving military spirit, courage, endurance—formidable qualities when Mohammed welded the tribes into a religious and political unit. Before the coming of Mohammed the Arabs were in a low, if not degraded, state of polytheism, though their religious condition had once been better. At least, long before

Arabia before Mohammed

Mohammed   Mecca had enjoyed universal respect as a religious capital.

Mohammed—whose real name was Abul-Kassim—was born in Mecca, probably in 570. Though he was of the family of the Banu Hashim, a part of the aristocratic Koreish clan, Mohammed himself was a poor man in a city which was a merchant republic and where wealth assured social status. His parents died when he was very young, and he was reared by his grandfather and later by his uncle. When he was twenty-five, a rich widow, Khadija, also of the Koreish clan, employed him, and he probably accompanied her caravans to many parts of the country. Khadija, older than Mohammed and twice a widow, offered her hand to him in marriage; Mohammed accepted; and the marriage appears to have been very happy.

Until he was about forty years old, Mohammed seems to have had no extraordinary religious experiences and to have been simply a successful business man. As religious ecstasy was not unusual among the Arabs, when Mohammed first heard voices—he curiously never saw visions—he thought himself only an every-day seer. Shortly he became convinced that Gabriel was speaking to him and that his was a very remarkable revelation. As Mohammed was probably illiterate, his revelations were first written down by his friends on palm leaves, pieces of slate, and the shoulder bones of sheep. Mohammed later dictated his revelations to a scribe. These transcriptions became the Koran (the Arab word for book, lection).

The Koran   The Koran, supplemented by tradition, embodied the tenets of the new religion, called by its votaries Islam (the Arabic word for submission). After the death of Mohammed, Abu-Bekr had these sayings collected, but as the result was not entirely satisfactory, twenty years later the Khalif Othman instituted another redaction. The resulting text has never been changed. The Koran is not arranged in the order in which Mohammed is supposed to have delivered it; instead the 114 chapters, or *suras*, are arranged in order of length, the first chapter being the longest. The entire book contains 77,639 words and is not as long as the New Testament. In the oldest suras Mohammed presents himself only as a preacher; in the later chapters he claims to be divinely inspired. The suras bear odd names like the Fig, the Star, the Cow. Besides proclaiming the unity of God, His love and power, the necessity for submission to His will, the resurrection and judgment, the joys of Paradise and the woes of hell, they

also embody a civil code, with laws to govern marriage, divorce, orphanage, tutelage, succession and blood feud. Arabian manners and customs are so much a part of the Koran that it is difficult always to tell where religion ends and civil legislation begins.

Islam consists primarily in the observance of five duties by every Moslem. He must testify that there is but one God, pray five times a day, give the legal alms, observe the month's fast (Ramadan), and make the pilgrimage to Mecca at least once. The theology and ethics of Islam are very systematic. God is One and is the Creator and Ruler of all things. Of the many prophets, six—Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus and Mohammed—inaugurated new dispensations. As Jesus abrogated the dispensation of Moses, so Mohammed abrogated the dispensation of Jesus. After death the soul is tortured or made easy until the resurrection and final judgment. After the resurrection, which is of the physical body and the soul, and the judgment, true believers of good character are ushered into a Paradise which seems startlingly sensual to Western minds. The most deserving, however, will enjoy the supreme reward of seeing God's face; and perhaps the sensual pleasures of Paradise were to be taken symbolically. The tortures of hell—chiefly degrees of cold and heat—await unbelievers. Remembering his own childhood and his own poverty, Mohammed guarded the rights of children and made legal charity (*zekat*) compulsory for all save the very poor. Voluntary charity (*sadaga*) he strongly urged to supplement legal charity. He prohibited the use of intoxicating liquors, the exposure of female children, murder, theft, adultery, usury and oppression of the poor. Though he permitted polygamy, and though he made divorce very easy for men, he improved and regularized the position of women. He forbade idolatry. As before praying a Moslem must wash, if not with water then with sand, he promoted physical cleanliness. He was lenient toward debtors and recommended the strictest honesty in performing private contracts. He urged forgiveness of enemies, and above all, submission to the will of God.

The new religion started inauspiciously. By 613 Mohammed had converted only his wife and children, his freedman and adopted son Zaid, his cousin Ali and his friend Abu-Bekr. His first efforts to preach among his fellow citizens of Mecca met first the indifference and then the hostility of the *mala*, the commercial aristocracy. Mo-

Theology and ethics of Mohammedanism

The Hegira

hammed was practically boycotted for years; in the face of a growing public disapproval some of Mohammed's few converts fled to Abyssinia. After the death of Khadija in 619, Mohammed looked for a more hopeful location. Yathrib, a city torn with feuds, seemed willing to submit to an outsider, and in April Mohammed began sending his followers there. In September, 622, Mohammed himself moved *Hegira (622)* to Yathrib. The Mohammedan calendar dates from this emigration, or *hegira,* and Yathrib has since been called Medina (from *Medinat al nabi,* the city of the prophet).

With the hegira came a change in Mohammed's fortunes. The *jihad,* or holy war, was instituted at this time, and Islam began to take on its fanatical character. Partly the jihad can be explained by the blood feud traditional among the Arabs. Also, Mohammed and his little group were poor; Arabs had long plundered caravans; the caravans to Mecca were very rich; and the merchants at Mecca were unbelievers and hostile to Islam. In 623–24 Allah justified to Mohammed six raids upon caravans to Mecca. In 625 the Moslems captured the most important of all the caravans to Mecca. The Meccans took up arms and were badly beaten. Mohammed added to his wealth by exiling a hostile Jewish tribe from Medina and confiscating its *Conquest* property. Though he was beaten so badly at Ohod (625) that he *of Mecca* was forced to hide, Mohammed's fortunes rose steadily, and many desert tribes joined Islam. Medina successfully withstood a siege by Meccan forces and when the siege was lifted, Mohammed decided to invade Mecca. At the news that he was approaching with 10,000 men, Mecca capitulated and in January, 630, Mohammed entered the city as a conqueror. He was now "prophet, priest and king of the whole of Arabia." Before he died in 632 Mohammed announced that Islam should be carried beyond Arabia, to all the gentile nations.

Though he was sometimes irritable, morose and suspicious, Mohammed is described as kind to the poor and to his family, willing *Character of* to forgive an enemy and loyal to his friends. His life was always *Mohammed* extremely simple; he ever shared hardships with his men, and he refrained from alcoholic drinks long before he prohibited their use by others. As his conviction grew that he was the chosen agent of a final revelation, he became more intolerant of other creeds than his own. But in sum he must be included in the very small group of men who have proclaimed an ethical code higher than the one about

them, and who have had the personal force necessary to found one of the world's great religions.

Once well started as a militant religion, Mohammedanism spread with prodigious rapidity. Within fifty years after Mohammed's death Islam had conquered Persia, Egypt and Syria. One hundred years *Conquest of* after his death, Islam had reached the frontiers of India to the East, *Persia, Syri* and to the West had swept across North Africa, through Spain and *and Egypt* past the Pyrenees. The astonishing speed and magnitude of such conquests challenge explanation. In part explanation we can look to the condition of the conquered countries. In part understanding we can point to Mohammedan fanaticism, stirred by a doctrine of bright rewards and terrible punishments, to the marked ability of Islam to adapt itself to the most varied peoples, and to a long succession of extraordinarily able leaders.

In 632 Persia and Constantinople, at peace for the moment, were well-nigh exhausted by their long wars with each other. Persian exhaustion was rendered more acute by the domestic intrigues of the nobility and the clergy against the crown. The Arabs defeated the Persians in three successive battles, and after the battle of Nehavend in 641 the Sassanid dynasty came to a close. While one Arab army conquered Persia, another invaded Syria and met with no resistance except from the Byzantine armies stationed there. For two centuries the Syrians had been discontented under Byzantine rule. The three large sects in Syria—the Nestorians, Chalcedonians and Monophysites —had all been systematically persecuted by the Byzantine government, and as always, the burden of taxes had been great. The Arabs were received with open arms by most of the cities in Syria. Thus, by 639 the Arabs had driven the imperial armies out of Syria, had made favorable treaties with the large cities and had begun to convert the people to Islam.

The Arabs had two reasons for next attacking Egypt. It was a great Byzantine naval base, and unless they could control it their possession of the Syrian coast towns was endangered. Control of Egypt would also assure the Arabs of an enormous supply of wheat. Local conditions in Egypt were then, as in Syria and Persia, favorable to the Arab attack. The persecution of the Coptic Church, and the grinding taxes imposed by Heraclius during his long wars with Persia, had disaffected the people. They too looked upon the Arabs as de-

liverers and by 643 the Arabs had driven out the Byzantines and mastered the country as far south as Abyssinia and as far west as Libya. The hoary tale that the Arabs destroyed the great library at Alexandria is false. There was no library to destroy. One great library at Alexandria was burned in 48 B.C. The second great library was destroyed in 389 A.D. by fanatical Christian monks, and never rebuilt.

Byzantine Africa and Carthage

The Arabs, consolidating their power in Egypt by a rapid conversion of many of the natives to Islam, then moved west and shortly had conquered and converted Cyrenaica and Tripoli. Their attack upon Byzantine Africa, the Exarchate of Carthage, was delayed while they furiously besieged Constantinople for five years (672–7). When the siege of Constantinople was lifted, the Arabs resumed their attack upon Carthage. After a desperate resistance the city was captured in 695, lost in 697 and retaken in 698. At the same time they were attacking Carthage, the Arabs subdued and converted the Berbers, the warlike hill people of Morocco never conquered even by Rome. Using Egypt as their greatest base the Arabs then took to the sea and soon were making serious attacks on Lower Italy and Sicily. Of the Byzantine Empire outside of Europe, only Asia Minor successfully resisted the Mohammedan invasions. Not until the time of the Seljuk Turks in the eleventh century did Mohammedanism become wide-spread in Asia Minor.

Conquest of Spain (711)

The history of the West Gothic kingdom in Spain is most wretched. The country was racked by feuds between the Goths and the Roman aristocracy, and by constant squabbles for the crown, which had never become hereditary. The most united and influential element was the clergy. For in 586 the West Goths had abjured Arianism and became Catholic. In 711 Tarik crossed from Africa. His capture of the citadel on the great rock which guards the straits, converted the ancient name of the place to Djebel Tarik (the Rock of Tarik) whence the name Gibraltar. In a single battle at Xérez, the Mohammedans destroyed the West Goth kingdom. They rapidly overran the entire country, except for the mountainous districts of the Pyrenees, and in 715 established their capital at Córdoba. By 725 they had spread north of the Pyrenees and had penetrated Frankish Gaul as far as Autun. In 732 they were defeated by Charles Martel at Tours, and though

they were not driven south of the Pyrenees until 769, their expansion in Europe was ended.

In western Asia after their conquest of Persia the Arabs spread across the hinterland beyond. The ancient cities dotting this vast and semi-arid territory—Merv, Bokhara, Samarkand, Tashkent and Balkh—were conquered one by one, and by 724 the Mohammedans were at the Indus River and the western frontier of the Chinese Empire. Here for many years the advance of Islam was arrested. But the seas were open and just as the Arabs in Egypt learned to sail on the Mediterranean, so also they became a seafaring people in the Far East. They sailed along the Persian Gulf and across the Indian Ocean, colonized Makran and the Malabar coast of India, and Arab dhows began to appear in the China Sea. Mohammedan colonies were settled in Hangchow, Canton, and other ports of China. Mohammedanism was spread in the East both by these trading colonies and by missionaries, and has continued to expand to the present time. Parts of China, Java, the Celebes, the Philippine Islands, and the Malay Peninsula are still strongly Mohammedan, though they have never been part of the political empires of the Arabs or the later Turks. In the eighth century the Arabs also penetrated above Upper Egypt into Nubia, and from Tripoli, Kairwan, and Fez into the Sahara. For the first time in history Central Africa was brought into contact with the civilization of the Mediterranean. As successfully as in the East, Islam was spread in Africa by traders and missionaries. It reached both the East and West coasts, and as in the East, it has maintained itself and continued to expand ever since. Christianity, once well rooted in northern Africa, has never since the Mohammedan invasions been able to regain even a modest foothold among the natives. We can at least partially account for this remarkable missionary success. Mohammedanism takes almost no notice of racial differences. It has frequently resulted in an improvement in the condition of its converts, at least of its converts from heathen peoples. Its missionaries, if not natives, learn the language of the natives, adopt their customs and intermarry with them. Its creed is simple and easily understood—"there is no god but God and Mohammed is his prophet."

By the middle of the eighth century Mohammedan dominion ex-

Mohammedan expansion in the Orient

Central Africa

tended from the Atlantic on the West to the Indus. Islam was planted in three continents, and within its immense ellipse were parts of the great empires of Persia, Byzantium and Rome.

MAP OF
ARABIC CONQUESTS
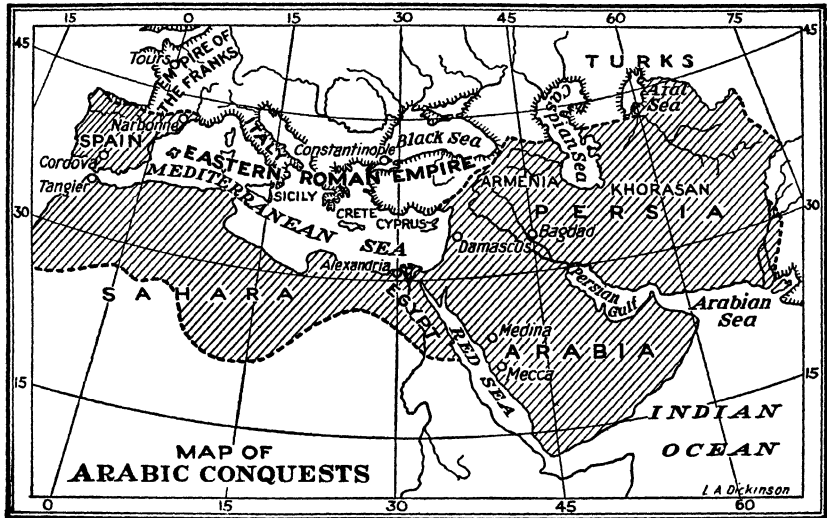
    The traditional Arab tribal organization and love of liberty had prevented the growth of anything like a single state in Arabia. Arabian qualities helped Islam conquer a vast territory in a brief time, but prevented it from establishing a political empire equal to the demands upon it. The centrifugal tendencies of the Arabian spirit were exaggerated by Mohammed's failure to leave a male heir and to designate a successor or even a principle of succession. At once, upon Mohammed's death, Islam was torn within. The Shiites (from *Shi'a,* a sect), whom we may call legitimists, wished to limit the khalifate to the family of Mohammed. The Sunnites (from *sunna,* traditions), who embodied the Arabian patriarchal tradition, wished an elective succession. Theologically, the Shiites restricted authoritative religious utterances to the Koran; the Sunnites wished to have tradition also included, as aids to the understanding of the Koran. Mohammed's companions designated Abu-Bekr, Mohammed's father-in-law, to succeed him. Abu-Bekr was entitled *Khalifat-rrasul-Ali* ("Successor-of-the-Sent-of-God") and *Emir-al-Munemin* ("Prince-of-the-Faithful"). The powerful Ommeyad family, aristocrats of

Mecca, and already reaching for control of Islam, favored Ali, Mohammed's cousin and son-in-law. But they submitted to Abu-Bekr (632–34), and Omar (634–44), and even to Othman (644–56). Othman's misrule intensified their hostility, and when Othman was assassinated, they finally succeeded in having Ali (656–61) made Khalif. Then Muawwiyah, head of the Ommeyad family and governor of Syria, revolted. On the assassination of Ali, Muawwiyah became Khalif (661–680). Under him the capital was moved from Medina to Damascus. He was a very able organizer, built numerous mosques and appointed many *cadis* or judges—teachers to expound and interpret the Koran. After him the Ommeyad dynasty maintained itself until 750, though not entirely successfully. The Shiites persisted obstinately in Egypt, parts of Arabia and Persia. The unruly Berbers successfully revolted during the khalifate of Hashim (724) and the Turkish provinces broke away. Ommeyad misrule and internal feuds ended the dynasty in 750.

Persian Moslems, always accustomed to hereditary succession, inevitably sympathized with the legitimist Shiites. In 746 the Abbasids, who claimed descent from Abbas, Mohammed's uncle, revolted against Merwan II, and in 750 they overthrew the Ommeyads, killing Merwan II and ninety princes of the house. Only Abd-el-Rahman, grandson of Hashim, escaped. He made his way to Spain *Abbasid* and there, in 756, established what was to become the Ommeyad *dynasty* Khalifate of Córdoba. The Abbasids moved the capital from Damascus to Baghdad, the heart of the former Persian Empire. The Abbasids were the most famous Moslem dynasty. Their Khalifs were generous patrons of poets and scholars; undertook many remarkable public works; and particularly under Harun-al-Rashid (786–809) of *Arabian Nights* fame and Al-Mamun (809–13), made Baghdad famous even throughout Christendom for its luxury and splendor. But no more than the Ommeyads could the Abbasids create and maintain a united political empire. By 929 Córdoba had become an independent khalifate; and the Fatimites, a family claiming descent from Mohammed's daughter Fatima, revolted in North Africa and established themselves in Cairo (972). Egypt was lost to the Abbasid Empire.

The Mohammedans were not barbarians sweeping over well-organized peoples of a higher civilization. Except for their inability to create an enduring political empire, they carried with them a higher

civilization than those they encountered and they rivalled the Romans in their ability to spread their civilization. They improved the agricultural methods of the Copts in Egypt. Arab water works and canals enabled the farmers to irrigate the higher ground, and much sterile land was made to yield rich harvests. The increasing numbers of pilgrims to Mecca needed much grain, and the Arabs re-opened the ancient canal of the Ptolemies between the Nile and the Red Sea to speed the passage of the wheat to Mecca. At Mecca they built huge magazines to store the wheat from Egypt. Under the Ommeyad dynasty Spain was the richest and most advanced state in Europe. Except for chronic war with the Christians in the north, the country was long united and at peace. The Arabs introduced the palm, the carob-tree, sugar-cane, the mulberry and silk culture. Their agriculture was as ingenious as effective. An intricate system of irrigation carried water from the mountains to the plains and opened immense tracts of arid land. The Arabs terraced the slopes with vineyards. In the country which had been reduced to a depopulated and dry waste by the Visigoths, villages multiplied and cities sprang up. Córdoba became a city of half a million. The Arabs maintained a lively commerce with all the Mediterranean. Mosques, baths, bazaars, libraries and schools ministered to religion, hygiene, commerce and intellectual pursuits. The numerous Jews contributed materially to the brilliant civilization, and thousands of Christians lived prosperously under Islam. Six churches in Toledo and four in Granada maintained Christian services. But the Christians did not preserve their language in the presence of the superior Arabic civilization, and the Bible and service-books were written in Arabic.

In an age of ruthless religious persecution, the Arabs displayed an unusual toleration. Their conquests were much less cruel, much less destructive of life and property than is usually thought. "Their policy and practice were more merciful than that of any of the great northern hordes; there was no depopulation and hence no great space to be filled up by new occupants." In general the Arabs adopted the institutions and political forms of the conquered peoples, who thus had their masters changed but not their habits. All non-Mohammedans were judged by their own laws. In Syria and Egypt, for instance, the Arabs preserved most of the features of the old Byzantine administration, and Greek remained the official tongue for years. Under

he Byzantine Empire less than half of the taxes collected customarily
reached the treasury. Under the Arabs fiscal abuses and corruption were
not so rife and taxes were consequently lighter. The Moslems did not,
however, practice quite what we mean by toleration. They exacted a
special tribute from all conquered peoples who wished to maintain
their own religion rather than embrace Islam. This extra tax was a
great help to the already very effective Moslem missionary efforts,
as native peoples could escape the tax by becoming Mohammedan; and
as slaves could become free at the cost of turning to Islam, the success
of Moslem missionary work was most pronounced. In Granada, at
the beginning of the fourteenth century, only 500 of the 200,000
Moslems were of Arab descent. In short, "Islam, which swept vio-
lently over Christianity . . . was a real deliverer; for in spite of its
defects and barrenness it was a more spiritual power than the Chris-
tian religion, which in the East had well-nigh become a religion of
the amulet, the fetish, and conjurers."

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CHAPTER VII

LOMBARD, PAPAL AND BYZANTINE ITALY

THE Lombards were the last German nation to establish themselves within the Roman Empire. Originally from the valley of the Oder, they were in Pannonia early in the sixth century, where they absorbed the shattered Rugians and Heruli. Like other barbarian peoples they were mercenaries under Justinian, and when they were forced out of Pannonia, Italy was familiar to many of them. The Lombards moved into Italy in 568, and by 569 they had spread over the valley of the Po. They reduced Pavia after a three years' siege, and made it the capital of their kingdom, which, by 573 included all of the plain of the Po and central Italy as far as Beneventum.

Other German invaders had forcibly partitioned the land in Italy, taking from one third to one half for themselves, but had left the rest to the Roman proprietors. The Lombards seem to have taken all the land, reducing the proprietors to dependence and further depressing the peasantry. Though this oppression did not last indefinitely —the *Code* of Rothari (636–52), still harsh enough, reveals some improvement, and that of Liutprand a century later indicates a fairly advanced Christo-German civilization—the Lombards were the most severe of all the German invaders. And of all the German peoples, except those in Britain, the Lombards clung most tenaciously to their German institutions. Perhaps the fact that they came into Italy as invaders and not as "federates" of the imperial government; that unlike the Goths they had had no long contacts with Italian civilization; that they were Arians and greatly outnumbered by the native population, made them cling longest to German ways in self-defense. For instance, the Lombard kingship was still elective when every other German kingship had become hereditary. Indeed, for ten years (575–85) the Lombards had no king at all, merely a government by local dukes.

Better to resist the Lombard attack, the Emperor Maurice (582–

502) reorganized the imperial administration in Italy. The old pro-
vincial organization was replaced by a system of duchies—Rome, *Exarchate*
Perugia, Naples, Calabria and Liguria—under the Exarchate of *of Ravenna*
Ravenna. The exarch, who was a governor-general of all Byzantine
Italy, and the dukes combined both military and civil authority; and
because of the constant threat of Lombard attack, the military was
made superior to the civil authority. In all essentials the new system
was like that of the themes in Asia Minor.

One of the ablest Lombard kings, Rothari (636–52), former duke
of Brescia, united the Lombards well enough to defeat the exarch
in 638, annex the Ligurian coast in 649, and acquire some territory
in Venetia. He gave the Lombards their first written law (643).
After his death, the struggle of the dukes for the crown, and religious
differences among the Lombards themselves—many of them were
lapsing from Arianism to Catholicism—caused the Lombard state
to fall apart again. The Byzantines, harassed by the Avars in the
Balkans, finally collected a fleet which ravaged the coast of Beneven-
tum (650), and in 663 the Emperor Constantius II attacked the city
of Beneventum. The Lombards again united; elected Grimoald, the
Duke of Beneventum, as their king (662–71); and again resisted
the Greeks successfully.

The most important result of the Lombard invasions was that
Italian unity, restored under Justinian, was hopelessly broken. Until *Italy a geo-*
1870 "Italy" was thereafter merely a geographical expression. *graphical ex-*
Roughly we may say that Italy was divided among three different *pression*
political authorities: the Lombard kingdom, which touched the sea
only with the capture of Genoa in 640, and its outlying duchies of
Benevento and Spoleto; Byzantine Italy; and the city and territory
of Rome, which was at least *de facto* independent. A glance at the
map will show that this nominally tripartite division was really an
extreme territorial disorganization. The Byzantine dominions were
so widely separated that intercommunication between them was pos-
sible only by sea, and the Empire needed fleets more than armies to
preserve itself in Italy.

Between the Lombards and the Byzantines grew the power of the
papacy. The bishops of Italy, like the lay aristocracy, were proprietors
and rulers. In the social disorganization of the time, the bishops took
on more and more the qualities of lay rulers; and in conference with

the local lay authorities, appointed the municipal magistrates, super-intended public works, collected taxes. Chief among the bishops was the Pope. Although theoretically a Byzantine subject, under the immediate authority of the exarch at Ravenna, the Pope was largely inde-*The papacy*   pendent. In comparison with the Pope, the imperial duke supposed to govern Rome, despite his title of *"gloriossimus,"* was so insignificant *Pope Gregory* that Gregory I described him as "a useless and pettifogging thing." *the Great* The landed endowments of the Church, known as the Patrimonium *(590–604)* Petri or patrimony of St. Peter, had grown from the gifts made by Constantine and his successors until the Pope was the largest landed proprietor in Italy. His territories, centering about Rome, were spread over much of the peninsula, Sicily, Sardinia, and even in Gaul and Africa. In the time of Gregory the Great the Lombards had seized the papal lands in the north, and Lombard conquests down the center of the peninsula menaced the papal lands in middle Italy. Perhaps this danger, as much as their Arianism, caused the deep papal resentment against the Lombards and persuaded the popes to remain on good terms with the Byzantine Empire, on which they relied for military support against the Lombards.

The growing papacy took its definite medieval form under Gregory I, the Great (590–604). So wide was his influence upon both the doctrine and the administration of the Church that nothing in his *Gregory I* pontificate seems unimportant. To his singularly attractive figure let *the Great* us give special attention. He was born in Rome about 540, of an old and rich senatorial family, long attached to the Church and identified with the city government. When only thirty years of age he was appointed prefect of Rome by the Emperor Justin II. When he fell heir to the considerable fortune of his family, he founded six monasteries in Sicily and that of St. Andrew in Rome. He resigned his official position, gave to the poor the rest of his wealth, even his jewels and expensive robes and furniture, and, refusing the abbacy of the monastery, himself became a simple monk in St. Andrew's. But he was too valuable a man to be permitted a cloistered life and Benedict I (574–8) forced him to return to the world by making him, first, one of the regionary deacons of Rome, and then papal legate to Constantinople (578–85). On his return to Rome he again entered St. Andrew's, this time as abbott, and the rigor of his discipline became famous. At the death of Pelagius II (590), the clergy, the Roman

enate and the people insisted upon Gregory's election to the papacy. Though Gregory earnestly protested and never ceased to deplore his orced abandonment of his beloved monastery, he was elected and onsecrated pope on September 3, 590.

Gregory the Great we may perhaps describe as the first medieval nan. We note his intense theological interests, his loving belief in niracles, his detestation of the classics, his ardent monasticism. He vas not a great metaphysician, and the only reason he could find for tudying the classics was that they sharpened the mind for Christian ›reaching; but he was one of the four greatest doctors of the Church, ınd he is commonly credited with the reformation and systematizaion of the ritual music of the Church. His own monastic exercises ıad been so enthusiastically severe that he ruined his health thereby; ınd we shall note later his influence in the extension of monasticism ınd the growth of Catholicism. As a Christian he preached humility —he adopted the papal title *"Servus servorum Dei"* (servant of the ›ervants of God); as a landed proprietor, a Roman noble, bishop of Rome and Pope, he was proud and autocratic. His sermons reveal him as earnest, austere and always intensely human. In the few minıtes left him by exacting duties and ill health, he could unbend with ı childlike simplicity, as when one day a wandering minstrel appeared ıt the gates of the papal palace "with an ape and began to play upon an instrument." Gregory bade him enter and gave him food ınd drink. His 838 voluminous letters deal with almost every conceivable human activity. He was particularly intimate with the Catholic Frankish sovereigns and wrote them frequently to upbraid them for their vices; and his disciplinary letters to his bishops are striking.

Gregory I the "first medieval man"

He was equally great as a practical administrator. If he did not originate he certainly established the administrative system of the medieval papacy. In all essentials this system, inherited from the Roman Empire, was a continuation of the proprietary régime of the fourth and fifth centuries. The *fundi* or estates in the same province, each with a local steward (*conductor*), were grouped in larger units (*massae*), under a *rector,* and were named from the province or most important nearby city. The revenues from the papal estates were very large, larger than those of any other Italian proprietor and perhaps a million dollars in modern currency; and Gregory found

Gregory as administratoı

time to watch details in both the collection of the revenues and their disbursement. A good business man, he watched markets, and shipped Sicilian wheat to Constantinople in time of scarcity, Sardinian timber to woodless Egypt, copper from Sardinia and iron from Bruttium to the Byzantine arsenals and shipyards. The many and heavy demands upon the papal income necessitated skilled dispensation of the money. The papal treasury supported not only the Roman clergy, churches, schools, orphanages, hospitals and monasteries, but many clergy and church establishments elsewhere in Italy. The care of the poor, always a burden, was a heavier drain upon the treasury because of the many refugees driven to Rome before the Lombard attack.

The intermittent wars between the Lombards and the exarch, the efforts of the Frankish crown to control the Frankish clergy, made a very difficult situation for Gregory. His election as pope had required the approval of the emperor and he had announced to the Eastern patriarchs his assent to the doctrines of the councils; nevertheless he steadfastly asserted the supremacy of the see of Rome over all other sees. He tried, though unsuccessfully, to extend the appellate jurisdiction of the papacy over the Eastern bishops, even the patriarch of Constantinople. The weakness of the exarch, who was usually short of both money and soldiers, increased the actual papal civil *Gregory I* power in the rest of Italy, and Gregory extended papal ecclesiastical *insists upon* power in Africa, Gaul and Spain. Much as he needed imperial sup- *papal su-* port, when the Emperor Maurice struck at the abuses of monasticism, *premacy* curtailed monastic endowments and forbade men capable of military service to evade it by becoming monks, Gregory unhesitatingly denounced him. His unswerving maintenance of papal claims set an example to the other popes of the seventh century, who, if they did not have Gregory's ability and could not extend the papal power, yet did not forget the standard he had set.

The seventh century was an interlude between two periods of active aggression by the Lombards. The two Lombard dukes in the south, those of Benevento and Spoleto, did not act in concert with the northern Lombards; and the Byzantine government was enabled to resume the attack upon the north. Perugia was recovered from the Lombards, and communication between Rome and the Adriatic was maintained by a long row of strategic fortresses erected along the road from Ravenna to Rome. During this century the Lombards

codified their law, re-established the Orthodox Church in their own territory, and framed their administrative institutions. By the end of the century the Lombards had become well Romanized: they were no longer barbarians.

ITALY IN A.D. 590

IMPERIAL DOMINIONS
LOMBARD TERRITORY

Under Gregory II (715–731), relations between Rome and Constantinople were abruptly severed, when Leo the Isaurian attempted to enforce his laws against image-worship. The authority of the Empire was weak except in south Italy, and apparently it was Gregory II's bold design to deny imperial authority entirely and. to make the quasi-temporal papal power in Central Italy a real temporal power. In 725 Gregory II prevented an imperial levy of taxes in Italy, the

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Liutprand
(712–44)
King of the
Lombards

first sign of open revolt. In Ravenna the Greek and Italian partisans fought in the streets. At the same time, the Lombards, united again under their greatest king Liutprand (712–44) began to attack the imperial territories. The Spoletans captured Narni and Liutprand captured Classis, near Ravenna. The exarch of Ravenna, marching upon Rome to compel Gregory II to submit to the imperial tax, was confronted by Lombard and Roman forces, and withdrew. In 728 Liutprand captured Sutri, a fortified garrison point in the duchy of Rome. Though Sutri was not part of the papal patrimony, Gregory demanded that it be given *beato Petro*, to St. Peter. Rather than break with the papacy, Liutprand complied. At the same time, Gregory II, who regretted the necessity of the Lombard support to withstand the imperial forces, attempted to alienate the Lombard dukes of Benevento and Spoleto from Liutprand. He had ousted the Byzantines from Central Italy, but alone he could not engage the Lombards. In 739 Gregory III (731–41), continuing the policy of Gregory II, sent a mission to Charles Martel, the great Frankish mayor, to ask for aid against the Lombards. But Martel was busy with the Saracens, who still raided the south of Gaul and even Provence—they occupied Arles in 737; Liutprand had aided Martel against the Saracens, and was therefore his ally; and the Frankish clergy was hostile to him because of his seizure of church lands. Despite the Pope's offer to recognize him as the protector of the Romans, he therefore received three papal missions very coldly. Liutprand meanwhile crushed the Duke of Spoleto, advanced towards Rome and ravaged the Campagna. Gregory III and Martel died in 741, and the new pope, Zachary (741–52), found aid in the fact that the exarch had returned to Ravenna and had joined the archbishop against the Lombards. Faced by two enemies, Liutprand made peace with the Pope, and then died (744) before he could attack the exarch.

Aistulf
(749–56)

    The new Lombard King Aistulf (749–56) revived Liutprand's ambitious plans to unify Italy, and again the Lombards menaced both the Byzantine dominions and those of the papacy. The Pope wanted a political title to confirm his *de facto* authority in the papal patrimony; alone he was not strong enough either to resist the Lombards or to force the emperor to yield to his wishes. The emperor, busy as always in the Balkans and Asia Minor, could give little assist-

ance to his exarch in Ravenna, and without derogating imperial authority in Italy, he could not concede such a title to the Pope. In 751 Aistulf conquered Ravenna, and in 752 he came to Rome to levy tribute upon Pope Stephen II (752–57), and to force the pope to recognize him as king of a united Italy. This the pope was determined not to do. In Gaul, Martel's son Pepin the Short had deposed the Merovingian dynasty and made himself king in 752. Early in 753 Stephen II secretly sent a message to Pepin asking that envoys be sent to escort him into the Frankland. Duke Autcharius and the king's chancellor, Chrodogang, Bishop of Metz, came to Rome, and with them Stephen II left Rome in October, escaped the pursuing Lombards, and in January, 754, arrived at the royal villa of Ponthion, near Metz. He remained in Gaul through the winter. In July, 754, he recrowned Pepin and conferred the patriciate upon him. Aistulf, alarmed at the prospect of Frankish intervention, sent Pepin's brother Carloman, a monk at Monte Cassino, to Gaul to treat for him; but on his arrival Carloman was imprisoned in a monastery at Vienne, where he died soon after.

In the spring of 755 a Frankish army invaded Lombardy. Aistulf, *Donation of* who had fled to Ravenna, promised to become a Frankish ally, and *Pepin* to restore his conquests. As Aistulf resumed arms as soon as the Franks retired, in 756 Pepin himself led another army into Italy. He overran the exarchate and forced Aistulf to observe his agreement to yield his conquests and to pay an indemnity. Pepin conferred upon the pope the territory of the exarchate as a temporal possession, with the rights of sovereignty of an Italian prince. It was a goodly state, extending from Ravenna down the Adriatic coast to Sinigaglia, and across the Apennines to Narni. Together with the duchy of Rome, already *de facto* the pope's, it was the most powerful single territory in Italy. Though we do not know exactly what territory was gained by the pope, nor under exactly what official title he held it, as no existing document describes the transaction between Pepin and the Pope, the Lombard kingdom was effectively blocked in its attempt to unify Italy. The papacy added a temporal to its spiritual authority, and the Papal States were securely founded, and prevented the unification of Italy until 1870. Though the final step of denouncing papal civil allegiance to Byzantium was not yet openly taken, two

centuries of a tortuous diplomacy had set the papacy free from its dependence upon Constantinople.

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CHAPTER VIII

MONASTICISM

MONASTICISM was a form of the Christian life unknown before the third century. In the East it was not general before the fourth century. In the West it was only sporadic in the fifth and not general before the sixth century. It was of oriental origin and is one of the most striking evidences of oriental influence upon Christianity. Asceticism and isolation, the roots of monasticism, produced first the anchoritic, hermit, or solitary form of life, and then the cenobitic or community form of life. At bottom the passion for an ascetic and isolated life was a psychological revolt against the semi-pagan life of the Roman Empire in the fourth century. The sharp contrast between the simple religious teachings of the New Testament and the intolerant theology and worldly life of the hierarchized clergy and the licentiousness of the world outside the Church, dismayed more sensitive souls, who fled to the desert to be away from the temptations of the world and to find peace of mind and heart in solitude. Renunciation of property, home and kindred became a new mode of self-sacrifice and religious expression; poverty and austerity acquired sanctity; hardship and solitariness could make amends for sin; mortification of the flesh ministered to the spiritual life. In this sense St. Paul of Thebes (251–356?) and St. Anthony (251–356?) were the earliest Christian hermits or anchorites of whom we have knowledge. Romantic piety has so surrounded both of them with legend that it is difficult to distinguish between fact and fiction. We can believe only with the greatest difficulty that St. Paul lived for ninety-seven years alone in a cave.

Origins of monasticism

In extreme form anchoritism was a kind of religious hysteria, even mania. In their excessive austerities, dwelling with vermin and sitting amid filth, eating revolting food, or starving for days, in the belief that such mortification of the flesh edified the spirit, Paul and Anthony made an orgy of asceticism and isolation. Ignorant and illiterate, they confounded a sane sensuousness with sensuality, "counting

beauty an enemy to holiness." They condemned cleanliness and comfort as self-indulgence, and exalted privation and poverty as expiations.

Institution of cloister life   A return to reason was brought about in the fourth century by the substitution of cenobitic or cloister life for the earlier form of hermit life, by St. Pachomius in the Thebaid (died 349?). He seems to have been a native of Lower Egypt, born of rich and pagan parents, and is said to have been a soldier in the army of Constantine. After his conversion he retired to the desert to live the life of an anchorite. But he was soon disillusioned; he was too sensible not to know that men are social animals and that, like solitary imprisonment, anchoritism made them mad. Accordingly, about 340, with a few disciples, Pachomius retired to the island of Tabenna in the Nile and there built a *koinobion* or common establishment, in which it is said the cells were arranged after the plan of a Roman camp. He instituted a series of regulations imitating the organization and discipline of the Roman legions, and enjoining absolute obedience, silence, manual labor and religious exercises. Thus cloistered monastic group life supplanted and, by its rationality and system, eliminated the gravest abuses of anchoritism. According to Palladius, a contemporary historian who visited Egypt about 390, there were fourteen hundred monks in Tabenna and seven thousand in subsidiary houses.

Egypt the cradle of monasticism   It was not long before monasticism passed the boundaries of Egypt and spread over the eastern provinces of the Roman world. In 358 a sister of St. Basil founded a community of nuns in Pontus on lands pertaining to the family. Soon afterwards Basil (329–79) established a colony of monks in Cappadocia. Others were soon founded in Syria, Palestine, and Greece. The regulations Basil drew up for these institutions became the Basilian Rule, which governed Greek monasticism throughout the Middle Ages and still prevails in the Greek Church. St. Basil was a rare combination of idealism and practicality. He condemned complete isolation and substituted cenobitic for solitary life, abandoned the desert and established his monastic colonies near, though not in, towns. He suppressed self-flogging and degrading macerations of the flesh. The body was to be disciplined, not abused; he supplanted mortification by useful employments calculated not only to make the monasteries self-supporting, but to make them able to succor the poor and afflicted. Exaggerated and exhaust-

St. Basil (329–79)

ing austerities made men incapable of service. Contemplation was promoted hand in hand with an active, vigorous life. Labor was not to be neglected under pretext of devotion. Monastic industry was to be practical, as farming and gardening, weaving, leather- and wood-working, stone-cutting, building. The possession of personal property was forbidden to the monk, except for his clothing and shoes. His vestments ought to indicate simplicity, humility and poverty; his food was to be nourishing, but not rich. Silence was strictly enjoined except during open hours. Ribaldry was forbidden, but light laughter was the sign of a serene and happy heart.

Although monasticism made for itself a legitimate place in the religious and economic life of the fourth century, in its protests against the worldliness and office-seeking of the clergy and its advocacy of a religious life untainted by luxury and indulgence, nevertheless monasticism had its own evils and abuses. At bottom it was "a selfish unselfishness," in that the primary purpose of every monk *Revolutionary* was to save himself by avoidance of temptation. He was less inter- *effects of* ested in saving others than in saving himself. His charity and humani- *monasticism* tarianism were to acquire credit in heaven for "good works" done on earth. He labored not because labor is a healthy occupation, or in order to assist others, but to reduce the fires of passion within him by hard toil. He frequently deserted the world because he was afraid to live in it and unable to withstand its temptations. In spite of the exaltation of the movement by great churchmen like St. John Chrysostom, monasticism in a number of ways was a disintegrating force in society. The synod of Gangres in 362 justly complained of the break-up of families and the impoverishment of many wrought by the movement, while the government showed alarm over the numbers withdrawn from shops and crafts, and legislated to prevent men from evading military service through becoming monks, especially when there was most need for troops. Moreover, the monks were far more fanatical than the secular clergy and incited the populace to violence and riot against heretics and pagans. They were intolerant of everything that savored of pagan tradition and culture. It is significant that the birth and development of monasticism synchronizes with the last struggle of dying paganism against Christianity. It must be remembered that literary culture, art, philosophy, science—all the higher civilization of antiquity—was intimately bound up with pagan

tradition. Monastic intolerance confounded all this magnificent heritage with paganism and condemned the whole without discrimination. The spoliation of the temples, the destruction of exquisite works of ancient art, the burning of libraries—notably the second Alexandrian library—the persecution of peaceful and cultivated philosophic scholars, the ban upon classical literature, the ruffianism of mobs—such as that which tore Hypatia to pieces—all these sinister and malignant deeds, were instigated by fanatical monks.

Creation of the regular clergy   Monastic clergy, the "regular" clergy, or those living under the rule, are to be sharply distinguished legally and historically from that other and older type, the "secular" clergy, so called because, unlike the monks, they mingled with secular life and were seen of men. The secular clergy were bishops, deacons and parish priests. But, sharp as was the distinction between these two types of clergy, and intense as was the rivalry between them for preferment and wealth, each inevitably influenced the other, or the one followed after the other in some ways. For example, endowments of land and other forms of wealth were showered as copiously upon abbots in the seventh century as they had been upon bishops in the sixth century. The most remarkable illustration, however, of cross-influence is the growth of the ideal of celibacy in the Church, owing to the example of monasticism.

Intimations and even injunctions of celibacy may be found before monasticism arose. In the first three centuries of the Church marriage was not considered incompatible with the office of the priest. But it would be difficult, perhaps impossible, to adduce a text that approves of the marriage of a priest *after ordination*. From the fourth century onward ecclesiastical opinion was strongly opposed to married bishops, though allowing marriage to the lesser clergy. In 691 (692?) the Trullan council erected custom into law, permitting deacons, subdeacons and priests to be married, but requiring married bishops to put away their wives and prohibiting unmarried bishops to marry. This legislation is still the basis of legislation on the subject in the Greek Church. "In the East the parish clergy have always been married; the bishops formerly married have long since been exclusively of the unmarried clergy. The clergy who do not marry become monks." [1]

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[1] AYER, *Source Book of Church History*, 411.

The Latin Church, on the other hand, has always been less com- *Attitude of the Latin Church to celibacy* promising. "In the West the celibacy of the clergy as a body was an ideal from the beginning of the fourth century, and became an established principle by the middle of the fifth century under Leo the Great, though as a matter of fact it was not enforced as a universal obligation of the clerical order until the reforms of Gregory VII (1073–85)." The councils of Orange (441), of Arles (452), of Tours (461), and of Toledo (653, 659) emphatically asserted the principle that priestly authority and marriage were incompatible. In the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries, in the theory of ecclesiastical law at least, celibacy was required, although the law was as often broken as observed.

Inevitably monasticism spread from the Greco-Oriental East to the Latin West. Four great names are connected with the beginnings *Beginnings of monasticism in the West* of Western monasticism: St. Cassian (about 360–435), St. Martin of Tours (about 316–97), St. Cæsar of Arles (died 542), and St. Benedict (about 480–543). There were some hermits in the West before Cassian's time, notably in Gaul, but Cassian may be truly regarded as the founder of Western monasticism. The influence of St. Martin, however, was far greater than that of Cassian, for he caught the popular imagination as the other failed to do, but he had little influence upon the organization of monastic institutions. No rule is known by his name. St. Martin's life was spent in fighting the paganism that survived in Gaul, principally in the rural areas. Against the country-folk votaries of dying gods and goddesses he instigated veritable crusades, harassing frightened peasants, invading cottages, and destroying ancestral *lares et penates,* demolishing rural fanes and the temples yet existing in the towns. The "evangelization of the fields" was not a peaceful missionary movement, but an invasion. Paganism shrunk away into the depths of the forests and the moors; there in a fragmentary way its beliefs and practices persisted for many years, and became part of medieval folk-lore and superstition.

Although in almost every country there were isolated hermits or even unorganized groups of ascetics, until the sixth century Gaul was the only country of the West in which there were organized communities of monks. But St. Benedict of Nursia not only made *St. Benedict* Italian monasticism the foremost in the West, but he founded a type

of monastic organization destined to supplant all others. Moreover, for the first time the support of the papacy was enlisted in favor of the movement. Benedict, who was of rich and aristocratic parentage, was born in Umbria about 480. The boy was sent to Rome for schooling, but the profligacy of the city dismayed him and he fled to a wild solitude near Subiaco in the Sabine Hills. Here he lived in a grotto, still pointed out as *il sagro speco*. The chief information upon St. Benedict is derived from the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great, who wrote about fifty years after Benedict's death, when already the life of the saint was invested with legend; but there is no reason to doubt that the young novice at this season suffered from religious hysteria and was tortured by hallucinations and dreams and for a time gave himself over to extreme physical privation.

As Benedict's fame as a man of God spread, others flocked to him, until a little group of devotees was gathered around him. In 530 Benedict resolved to remove his community from the neighborhood of Rome and sent out two of the brethren to discover a more desirable place. They returned with word that in an excellent sequestered location half-way between Rome and Naples at Monte Cassino, was an ancient temple of Apollo, still frequented by the local peasantry. Benedict regarded this information as a sign. For us at least it casts a ray of light upon expiring paganism. Upon this site the mother monastery of the Benedictine order was erected out of the stones of the ancient pagan temple. The monks cleared the woods away and tilled the fields so effectively that during a famine Monte Cassino nourished the surrounding population.

Monte Cassino the mother monastery of Benedictinism (529)

In the early period of monasticism monks were not formally clerics, though claiming and possessing privilege of clergy, but laymen grouped into communities. Benedict knew the laxness and the abuses of eastern monasticism and was acquainted with the Basilian Rule, which St. Jerome's secretary, Rufinus, had translated into Latin. For the government of his own community he drew up a body of regulations known as the Benedictine Rule, perhaps the most famous ecclesiastical constitution of the Middle Ages and the model for every succeeding monastic order. Its cardinal features are self-abnegation, obedience, and labor. Prayer, silence, discipline, and manual work were designed to leave no room for pride, gossip, vice and indolence.

Benedictine Rule

Nothing but a careful reading of the entire Rule can adequately convey its nature.

Gregory the Great, who was himself a Benedictine monk and ardently devoted to monasticism, and the wide popularity of his *Dialogues,* which are filled with tales and legends of St. Benedict, did much to spread Benedictinism. The Church was filled with a new missionary spirit. The most notable example of the new zeal of the Church is the mission of St. Augustine. Augustine was prior of St. Andrew's in Rome, where Gregory I had been educated, when in 596 Gregory chose him to lead the English mission. For nearly two centuries, because of the conquests of the Jutes, Angles and Saxons and their destruction of Roman-British civilization and old British Christianity, except in Wales, Britain had been lost to Christianity. Augustine brought it back into the fold. On his arrival in Britain St. Augustine secured the protection of Queen Bertha, who was a Frankish and Catholic princess, and of King Ethelbert of Kent, and founded the monastery of Christ Church at Canterbury, upon the site where the cathedral was later built. From this center the efforts of the monks rapidly effected the conversion from Germanic heathenism of England's petty kingdoms—Kent, Anglia, Wessex, Essex, Sussex, Mercia, Northumberland. Gregory gave Augustine most sensible directions to follow in his missionary labors. Instead of fanatically attacking the heathen fanes, Gregory advised that Augustine transform them into churches. Christian symbols were to be substituted for heathen; altars were to be built in them; and the walls were to be washed with holy water.

Missionary activity of the monks

In Frankish Gaul and in England the Benedictine missionaries met a Celtic monasticism which spread out of Ireland to England and to Gaul and Germany. Ireland was the one country of western Europe known to antiquity that the Romans had not conquered, and in these early times Ireland had no Roman tradition, no heritage of Roman institutions or culture. Racially the Irish were descended from the Celtic tribes that in the first Celtic or Gadhelic wave swept across Europe at least before the sixth century B.C. Ireland had no political unity. The five kingdoms of Ulster, Connaught, Meath, Leinster and Munster all had floating boundaries, within which clan warred with clan. Irish pirates under the name of Scots (for most of Ireland

was then known as Scotia, and only the north was called Erin) early in the fifth century made formidable raids upon Britain in the last years of Roman domination there, and the influx of "Scots" from Ireland into Caledonia was so great that the name of the land became Scot-land.

In one of these raids, about 400, a young Briton was captured named Succat, the son of a Christian Roman decurion in Britain garrisoned near Dumbarton. He was the future St. Patrick. After six years of captivity in Ireland Patrick escaped to Gaul, where he was educated, perhaps at Lerins, "the favorite center towards which Greek, Syrian and Egyptian monasticism tended." Obeying an inward urge, Patrick determined to return to Ireland, the land of his captivity. This he did, and though Christianity was certainly known to some degree in Ireland before this time, for in 431 Pope Celestine I had sent Palladius to Ireland as the first bishop of "the Scots believing in Christ" to combat the Pelagian heresy, the real conversion of the Irish was the achievement of St. Patrick. Though traditional accounts vary somewhat, he undoubtedly effected the rapid conversion of the Irish from the Druid religion. In 445 he established the bishopric of Armagh.

Partly, perhaps, as the result of St. Patrick's contact in Gaul with other than Latin church forms, partly because of its isolation, the Irish Church preserved several ancient ecclesiastical usages long after they had become obsolete or forbidden on the Continent. The most important of these differences were the dating of Easter, the form of tonsure, and the nature of the bishop's office. Moreover, the intensely clannish nature of Irish society tended to involve both monastery and diocese in clan politics and to deprive the Church of its rightful liberty. It was impossible for the Roman Church to countenance such differences, and the conflict which began under Gregory I was not settled until 733, when the Irish accepted the Roman Easter and the Roman form of tonsure.

The combination of Irish love of wandering and missionary zeal in the sixth century sent Irish monk missionaries across to Scotland, Britain and the Continent. In the sixth and seventh centuries the whole nation seemed to become missionary, pilgrim, traveler. The

St. Columba

pioneer of this movement was St. Columba, the "dove of the Church." In 563 with twelve companions he founded a monastery on the island

of Iona; from Iona came the missionaries who converted the Picts. The Irish missionaries, with what survived of ancient British Christianity, then endeavored to convert heathen England. But here they met the missionaries from Rome. Anglo-Saxon heathendom was overthrown in the seventh century "by a vigorous encircling movement from North and South at once, the religion of Columba and Aidan coming from Scotland, the religion of Gregory and Augustine coming from Rome." The conversion of the English nations to Roman Christianity, and the rejection of Irish Christianity by King Oswy of Northumbria at the synod of Whitby in 664, closed England to further missionary activity.

Meanwhile Irish missionaries had also invaded the Continent. The earliest and greatest of these was St. Columban. Born in Leinster, in *St. Columban* 543, he had been given a good education at one of the numerous schools *(543-615)* of Lough Erne. About 585 with twelve companions he crossed over to Britain and thence to Gaul and finally arrived in Burgundy. He was well received by King Guntram, who granted him a site for a monastery on the ruins of an old Roman camp at Anagrates or Anegray. This foundation attracted recruits, and soon a new monastery was begun at Luxeuil, about eight miles distant from Anagrates. In establishing these monasteries Columban violated one of the rules of continental practice—namely, that an abbot should get permission of the bishop in whose territory he proposed to found his monastery. This was a source of friction at once with the Frankish clergy. The foundation at Luxeuil grew rapidly, and soon a third monastery was founded at Fontaines. The Columban Rule was introduced but never came into full operation for two reasons. It was defective in that it provided no satisfactory means for binding the Irish monasteries together, and it quickly came into conflict with the Benedictine Rule. The latter was much more practical, not so extremely austere, and enjoyed papal support. Within two generations after Columban's death his rule had practically ceased to operate.

For twenty years Columban labored at Luxeuil. His hold was strong over the common people, but through his unsparing denunciation of the vices of the court he aroused the hostility of Queen Brunhildis, and *Irish monas-* the Church was already hostile at his poaching on its territory. He *teries on the* moved to Switzerland and labored for a short time around the Lake *Continent* of Zürich and the Lake of Constance. But he and his companions again

were obliged to leave because of the hostility they aroused. Crossing the Alps, Columban arrived in Italy and was well received by Agilulf, King of the Lombards. He founded on the Trebbia the monastery of Bobbio, and there he spent the last three years of his life. Bobbio became one of the great Irish monasteries on the Continent, a repository for a great number of priceless manuscripts.

Other monasteries brought Irish influence into yet unconverted regions of central Europe. Southern Germany was dotted with Irish foundations, the most celebrated of which were at Würzburg and Regensburg. St. Gall has left his name to an entire Swiss canton. Centuries after these monasteries had become Benedictinized, they still retained the memory of their Celtic origin and throughout the Middle Ages were known as *Schottenklöster*.

Importance of Irish influence

By the middle of the eighth century the Irish monasteries everywhere had practically all submitted to papal claims and the separate existence of the Irish church was ended. The Irish monks maintained a high degree of classical learning; and in their monasteries, at home and abroad, as at Bobbio and St. Gall, they preserved numerous valuable manuscripts. The zeal of Irish missionaries stimulated missionary spirit in the medieval church. The Irish first maintained the principle, recognized only in the eleventh century, that monasteries might be independent of episcopal control. The Irish institution of the Penitentials—church books enumerating sins and indicating the required penance for each—certainly bred a deeper spiritual sense in the medieval man, originally all too rough and barbaric. In these ways Irish monasticism left a deep and lasting mark upon the medieval church.

English missionaries in Gaul and Germany

Late in the seventh century the English missions abroad became notable. In 677, Wilfrid, the Anglo-Saxon Bishop of York, on his way to Rome was shipwrecked on the Frisian coast and spent the winter there. In 691 St. Willibrord, another Englishman, crossed the sea and, supported by Pepin Herstal, founded the bishopric of Utrecht and was

St. Boniface (680–755)

a missionary among the Frisians for fifty years. But the greatest churchman and monk of the eighth century was St. Boniface. A Devonshireman by birth, educated at Exeter, in 715 Boniface crossed the sea into Frisia. War between Radbot, the Frisian Duke, and Charles Martel, compelled him to return to England. In 718 he went to Rome, and received powers and instructions for his mission in Germany, where Boniface had now decided to labor. After five years of missionary

work in Hesse and along the Saxon border he again went to Rome, and returned to Gaul and Germany with a papal letter to Charles Martel, appointing him archbishop of Mainz, the primal see in Germany. For fifteen years Boniface worked unceasingly in central Europe. There he introduced a Latin and ecclesiastical culture far more vigorous and organized than that which the Irish monks had once brought into the land. He founded the bishoprics of Würzburg, Marburg, Erfurt, and Eichstädt and the monasteries of Fulda, Hersfeld, Orthorpf, Amonburch, and others in Hesse. Boniface was the moving genius in the calling of the two reforming councils of Leptines (743) and Soissons (744), and in their legislation. His political services were as great. He reconciled the Frankish Church and Charles Martel; he probably suggested and certainly carried on the negotiations between Pepin and the pope that culminated in the deposition of the last of the Merovingians, Pepin's accession to the Frankish throne, and the establishment of the temporal power of the papacy.

Between 718 and 752 Boniface had been diverted from the purpose to which his youth had been dedicated, the conversion of Frisia. After 752 he seems to have regarded his administrative and political work as completed, and, an old man, returned to Frisia, which though conquered was still pagan. Here in 755 Boniface was murdered by pagan Frisians.

The monks, we have just seen, were indispensable in the spread of Christianity. In the preservation of civilization in those confused and war-like ages they were quite as important. Their requirement of labor reclaimed much waste land and led to many improvements in agriculture. Their practical work in cloth weaving and dyeing, in tanning and curing leather, were followed by the decoration of the finished articles. The monks became expert in the illumination of manuscripts, in gold and silver work, in gem carving, fresco painting. Dubious as we might think their medicine, it was the best available. The industrious monks busied themselves with every known art and industry.

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EUROPE
IN THE TIME OF
CHARLEMAGNE
A. D. 814

The Carolingian Empire

Original Possessions
Conquest by Charlemagne

English Miles

0   100   200   300   400   500   600
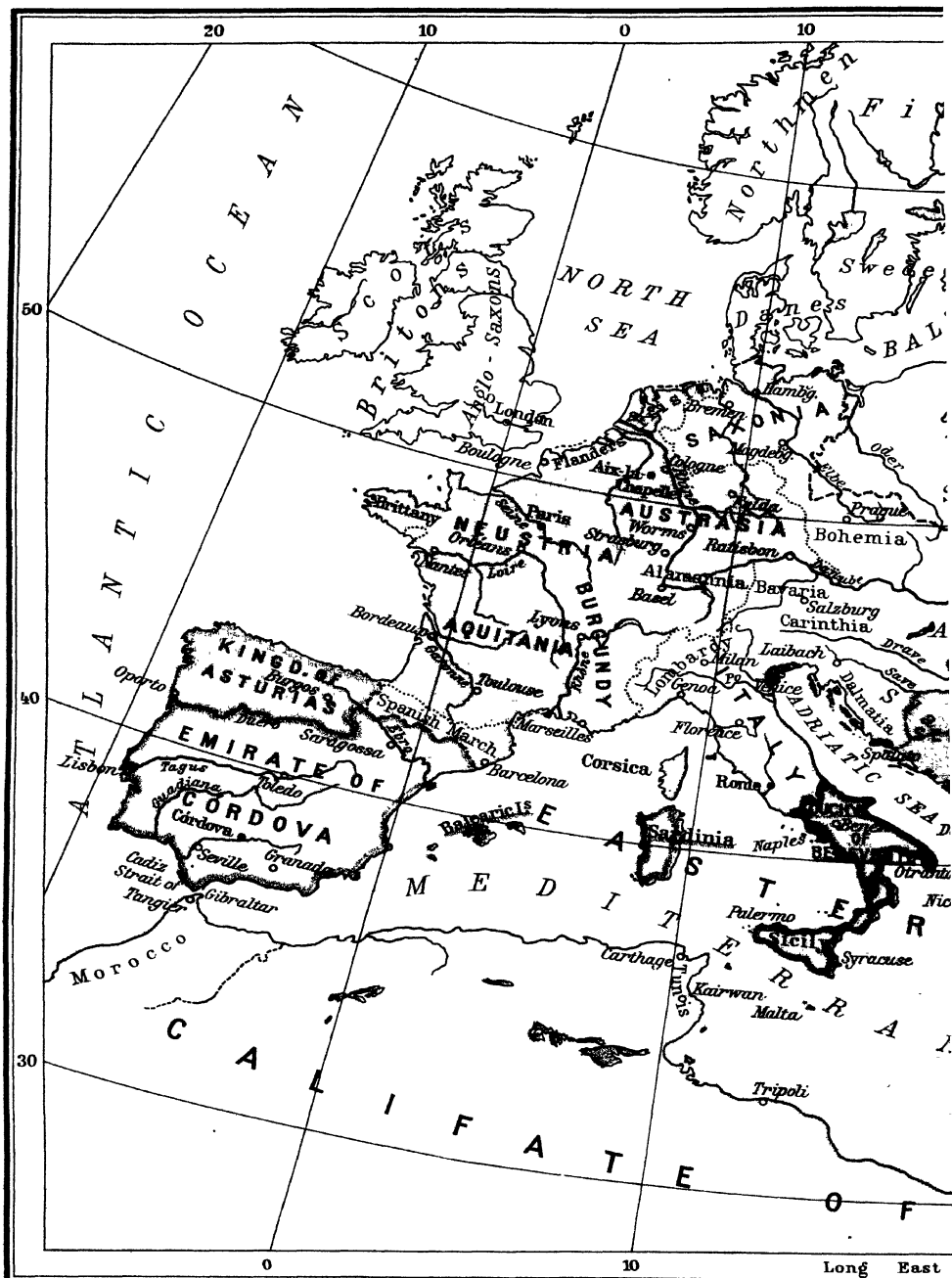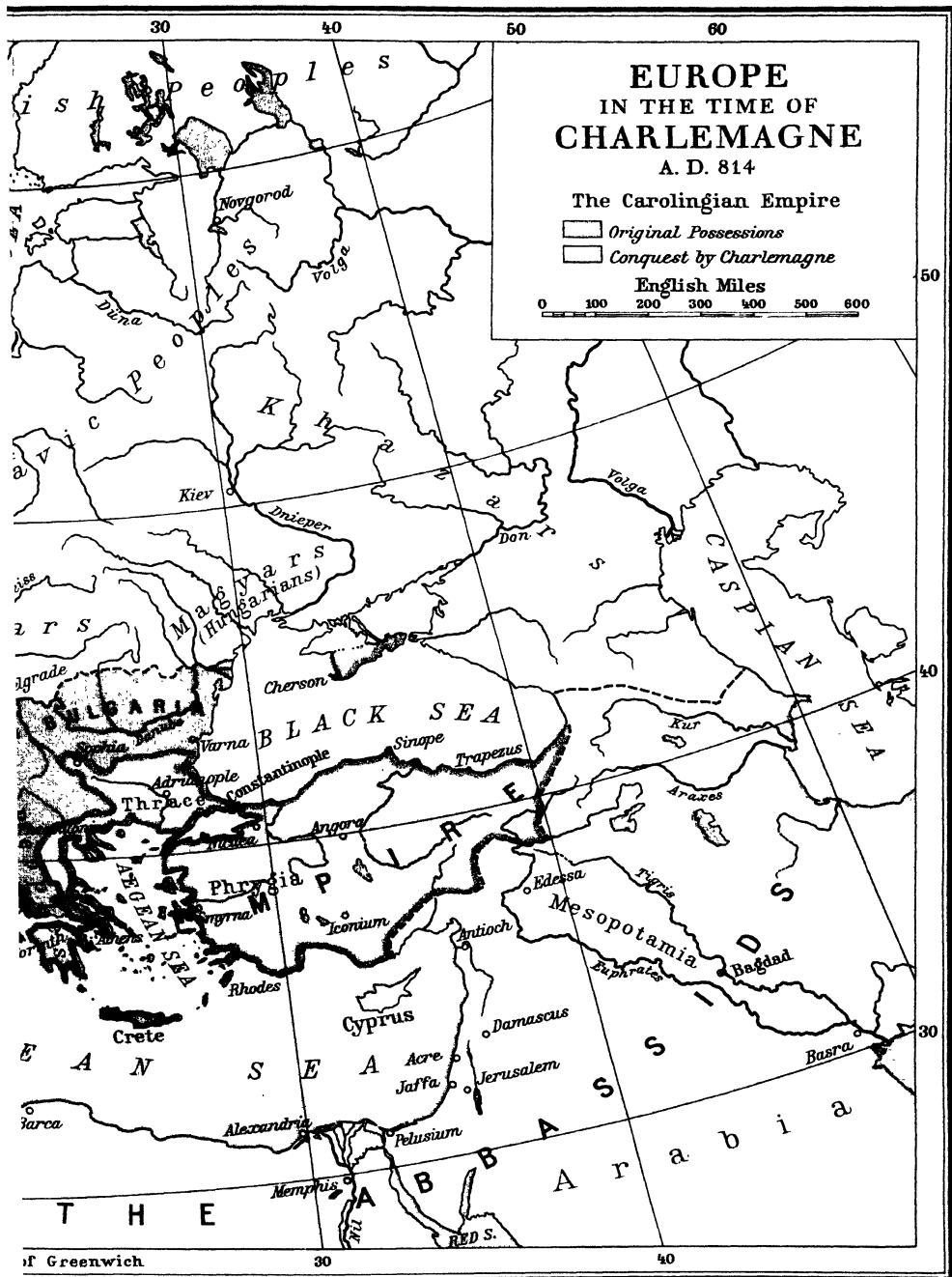
CHAPTER IX

CHARLEMAGNE AND THE FRANK EMPIRE

THE history of the Merovingian Franks from 561, when the kingdom was divided among the four sons of Chlotair I, to 687, when the Austrasian mayors of the palace gained control of the crown, is a melancholy record of civil war. The nobles, lay and clerical, struggled against the royal family, which, itself divided, varied civil war with assassination. With the Peace of Paris (614), *The Peace of* the nobles triumphed over the crown. The crown yielded its power to *Paris (614)* appoint the bishops, who were thereafter to be elected by the clergy of the diocese. No cleric could be tried by lay courts, neither could a cleric "commend" himself to the king. Thus the clergy became very independent of the crown. The lay nobles were assured indisputable possession of their lands and the restoration of any lands forfeited in their wars against the crown. The crown was prohibited from increasing taxes or tolls.

To assure the Austrasian nobles of their privileges, their able leader, Pepin of Landen, assumed the court office of mayor of the palace. The *The mayor of* mayor of the palace was originally a humble servitor, merely the chief *the palace* of the palace domestics. Later the office became that of the first minister of the crown. The mayor supervised all the bailiffs and stewards of the crown lands, and dispensed all the patronage of the crown offices and land grants. As mayor Pepin virtually ruled the Franks until his death in 639. He was succeeded by his son-in-law Anselgesil, who was son of the most important clerical lord, Bishop Arnulf of Metz,[1] and then by his son Grimwald. Grimwald defeated the Austrasian nobles, who were alarmed by the power and hereditary tendency of the mayor's office, seized the throne and declared his own son king. The Austrasian nobles again revolted; killed Grimwald and his son; later, under Pepin of Herstal, grandson of old Pepin and Bishop Arnulf, they defeated the Neustrian nobility at Testry (687), near

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[1] Celibacy was not successfully imposed upon the clergy until Hildebrand's reforms in the eleventh century.

Saint-Quentin; and as Austrasian mayor Pepin ruled all the Frank lands. His illegitimate son Karl or Charles Martel became mayor on his death in 714. To subdue the rebellious vassal peoples north and east, Charles campaigned against the Saxons (718, 720, 722, 729, 738), the Frisians (719, 738), the Alemanni (730), and the Bavarians (725, 728). But his greatest danger was from the Saracens in the south. In 720 the Saracens captured Narbonne; in 725 they took Carcassonne, penetrated as far as Burgundy and destroyed Autun. To meet the Saracens Charles needed every possible man, noble or simple freeman, and he compelled the bishops to surrender some of their lands. These he
Charles Martel
and the
Saracens
distributed as military tenures and required the recipients to join him and bring mounted retainers. In 732 the Saracens, under Abd-er-Rahman II, captured Bordeaux, and moved north. Charles's army met them near Tours. After the two armies had faced each other for seven days, the Saracens, mostly light-armed cavalry, attacked the solid infantry phalanx of the Franks. Abd-er-Rahman was killed and the Saracens fell back. Though the Saracens continued their attacks for many years, after their defeat at Tours they were never again so menacing; but perhaps civil war in Spain, more than the battle of Tours, accounted for their gradual withdrawal from the north. Charles recovered the Rhone valley and then annexed Provence. Only Gascony was not under his direct control. Taught by the Saracens, the Franks began to emphasize cavalry in their army. As cavalry was so much more costly than infantry, recruiting became correspondingly difficult. So energetically did Charles, and later Pepin, make land tenure dependent upon military service that holding in *beneficio*, shortly became almost universal; and Charles "put the medieval knight upon horseback."

We have seen how Charles alienated the Church by seizing church lands, and how he refused to aid the popes against the Lombards, his allies against the Saracens. On his death in 741, his son Pepin the Short (741–68) promptly conciliated the Church. In four synods under St. Boniface, the Benedictine Rule was reimposed upon monasteries; luxury and license among the clergy were proscribed; every city was again given a bishop, and the metropolitan bishops—henceforward called archbishops—were put over the bishops; and papal influence over the entire Frankish hierarchy was acknowledged. Though, to appease the nobles Pepin had recalled a last, frail, half-forgotten Merovingian,

Childebert III, from a monastery and had placed him upon the throne, *Pepin the*
in 752 he declared himself king. As we have seen, the pope recrowned *Short is*
him; Pepin supported the pope against the Lombards, wrenched *crowned by*
Cenral Italy from the Byzantine exarch and established the pope as *the Pope*
a temporal prince (756). The long process of disintegration in western
Europe was arrested. The Frank state ruled all Gaul, Germany except
Saxony, and nominally Central Italy; and had formed a momentous
working alliance with the papacy, now practically free of the Byzan-
tine Empire and with ecclesiastical power extending to Britain and
Christian Spain.

By this time the original nature of the Frank institutions had been *Frankish*
greatly altered by contact with Roman institutions. Chiefly out of *Institutions*
pride the Franks set a higher *wergeld* upon the life of a Frank than
upon the life of a Roman, and resented the old Roman direct taxes,
which, until they disappeared, were levied only on the Gallo-Romans.
But no racial antagonism divided the people; Franks and Romans in-
termarried freely; as the Roman aristocracy declared allegiance to the
Frank kings, all church and government positions were open to them
and even the counts were Roman as often as Frank. Social cleavage
was not vertical, between Franks and Gallo-Romans, but horizontal,
between the Gallo-Roman and Frank landed aristocracy and the peas-
antry, Frank serfs or broken freemen and descendants of the Roman
slave and servile classes. The Franks were Catholic and the govern-
ment employed Latin as its language. The kingship was a mixture of
ancient German, Roman and Biblical traditions. Though the king-
ship was hereditary and the election merely formal, when "elected"
the king was raised upon a shield in the old German way; he was clad
and crowned like a Roman emperor and anointed like an ancient Jew-
ish king. Court life was a pinchbeck imitation of Roman imperial
grandeur; most of the court officials bore Roman titles; the kings
issued decrees like Roman emperors and tried to continue the Roman
system of taxation. The palace or *palatium*, a great rambling wooden
villa, was usually close to a great forest, for the Merovingians were
passionately fond of hunting. The Germanic sense of individuality,
which made the kingship a concrete relation between the nobles and
their chieftain rather than a relation inspired by loyalty to abstract
authority, made the law also a kind of personal possession. As the
Franks conceived that each subject "lived his own law," they almost

always respected the laws and customs of the peoples they conquered. Military service was exacted of the Thuringians, Alemanni and Bavarians, but they were ruled by their own tribal dukes and under the Merovingians there was no Frankish count beyond the Rhine. The system helped to reconcile conquered people to Frankish domination, and influenced the formation of the medieval *coutumes*.

Among the Franks as among other Germans, most crimes were originally not considered public but personal offenses, and punishment was left to the family of the victim. The law of Childebert II in 596 put an end to the clan relation, but the old German feud (*faida*) could not be so easily suppressed and was responsible for much of the private war of the Middle Ages. Instead of retaliation, the injured family

Frank Law   might accept composition (*wergeld*) for the offense; and the numerous and exact provisions made for deeds of violence show how rough was the society of the time. Conceptions of legal evidence were narrow; the burden of proof rested on the defense and included *compurgation, ordeal* and *trial by battle*. Compurgation was the sworn statement of twelve men of good standing, originally of the family of the accused and then as the family declined in solidarity, of the hundred, that they believed the accused man to be innocent. With freemen, compurgation was conclusive. Judgment by ordeal was more common with the unfree, and did not obtain after the thirteenth century. The accused might be required to walk blindfolded among red-hot plowshares; or to plunge his hand or arm into boiling water; or to swallow a piece of bread or cheese; or to engage with the accuser in a contest to see which one could stand longer with uplifted hands before a cross. His success in performing the required feat or in recovering from it was held to show his guilt or innocence. But trial by battle was really the popular method of proving one's innocence. Outlawry, a terrible sentence when confirmed by public opinion, and execution, were the heaviest penalties. A guilty man might be hanged or beheaded, a guilty woman might be drowned or suffocated. The people themselves sometimes carried out the punishment of stoning the guilty. The harshness of the law was mitigated by the right of asylum possessed by the Church.

The royal income was derived from the products of the royal domain, the profits derived from the administration of justice, requisitions in kind, gifts from subjects, and local services. The old Roman

revenues, the *capitation* and the *land tax*, gradually disappeared and except as it was preserved in local customs and feudal dues, direct tax- *The royal* ation ceased. The counts gave one-half or two-thirds of all fines exacted *income* to the royal treasury, and kept the rest as their salaries. The temptation to unjust judgments is obvious and the kings had often to restrain the rapacity of their officials. The requisitions in kind were usually stored at points in the royal domains, to be consumed as the kings moved from place to place. Originally voluntary, the annual gifts brought by the nobles and presented to the king at the spring assembly became obligatory, and even monasteries were required to contribute. These gifts —gold, silver, precious stones, horses and the like—the king distributed to friends or to those among the nobility of whose loyalty he was in doubt. Thus these revenues were used principally for the personal expenses of the king and his court. They were not for public use, as services to the state hardly seemed to exist and could not be rewarded. Public works were erected by local effort, and freemen came to the army each with his own weapons.

In 600 A.D., the time of the first Frank historian, Gregory of Tours, Gaul still had commercial contacts with the Orient and the Medi- *Decline of* terranean ports still were important. But with the growth of Moslem *commerce* sea-power in the western Mediterranean, those contacts ended and almost all commerce became merely local. The territory within the Frank kingdom became agricultural almost exclusively; large proprietors absorbed small owners, who were unable to maintain themselves in the social chaos; freemen decreased in number and serfs increased. Urban life disappeared; within the walls of once populous cities, ancient buildings were abandoned and fell into ruin, and fields appeared. After the seventh century not even the memory of Roman municipal life seems to have survived.

On the death of Pepin the Short in 768, his son Charles fell heir to Austrasia and part of Aquitaine; Carloman received Neustria and the rest of Aquitaine. A smoldering feud between the brothers immediately threatened the unity of the kingdom. Carloman died in 771, however, and with the consent of his nobles Charles seized his brother's throne, and began the single and vigorous rule which was to make more legend and history center about him than about any other man in medieval Europe. Carloman's widow, Gerberga, fled with her children to the Lombard court of Desiderius, at Pavia. Charles had previ-

ously married and promptly repudiated a daughter of Desiderius, who was accordingly quite willing to take up the cause of Carloman's children against him. Desiderius, unable to persuade the pope to crown the children, prepared to invade the papal territories. Called upon by Stephen III for aid, Charles first attempted to negotiate with Desiderius and in 772 invaded Lombardy, besieging Desiderius in Pavia and conquering the country as far as Beneventum. Charles celebrated Easter in Rome and renewed Pepin's donation to the papacy. After a ten months' siege Pavia surrendered, Desiderius was forced to enter a monastery and Charles was recognized as king of the Lombards. Charles did not immediately incorporate the Lombards within his kingdom and permitted them to maintain their own laws; but in 774, after he had put down a Lombard rebellion, he abolished Lombard law and instituted the Frank system of counts, thus taking a step toward the idea of territorial law. In 788 Charles seized Bavaria and made it also a duchy administered after the Frankish fashion. Tassilo III of Bavaria, who had also married one of Desiderius's daughters, had the support of the Avars, the duke of Beneventum, and his clergy, who remembered the Irish founders of the Bavarian church and were restive under the papal domination established by Boniface. Tassilo was deposed and imprisoned.

The Avars, a people dwelling in ancient Pannonia and resembling the Huns, were conquered by Charlemagne in six campaigns between 788 and 805. In 795 the Franks captured the Ring—a palisaded town where the Avars stored the plunder of their many raids on the Byzantines—and by 805 broke the power of the Avars so completely that the Franks had to protect them from later attacks by the Bohemians. Against the Saxons, who had fought against Pepin the Short and Martel, Charles waged his most prolonged and desperate wars. At the beginning of his eighteen campaigns against them, his intention was merely to suppress border warfare; but the heroic resistance of the Saxons decided him to convert them by force. In 772

Charles took Ehresburg and destroyed the Irminsul, a huge pillar sacred to the Saxons and thought to uphold the earth. After invasions in 775, 777, 779 the Saxons submitted to wholesale baptism and promptly relapsed. By 780 Charles had established eight bishoprics in Saxony and had deprived the Saxons their own manners and customs, previously restored to them after each wholesale baptism.

In 782, after a new revolt under Widukind, 4,500 Saxon prisoners were executed at Verden. In 797, when the land had almost been laid waste, it was finally considered pacified. Charles promoted missionary efforts among the Saxons, and after their final acceptance of Christianity he had numbers of them educated as priests. Charles also fought against the Danes and the Slavonic tribes collectively called Wends, or "outlanders."

The Abbasid partisans in Spain, beginning the civil dissensions which defeated the Arabs in Spain, urged Charles to attack the north- *War in Spain* ern cities and promised him their covert support. Charles marched in and out again in 778. On the retreat, the rear-guard of the army, under Roland, margrave of the Breton mark, was attacked by Christian Basques in the pass of Roncesvalles. Roland was killed, to become the hero of a miscellany of later songs and legends, notably the *Chanson de Roland.* In 793 Charles established the East Spanish Mark, comprising the counties of Catalonia, Roussillon and Barcelona. In 806 he established another mark at the west end of the Pyrenees; in 812 he joined the two, forming the Spanish Mark and began thereby the separate Christian kingdoms of Spain. The mark or march, practically Charles's original device, was a buffer territory under a margrave who was given extraordinary powers. The Avar country was made the East *The Marks* Mark; among other marks were the Dane Mark, the Breton Mark, Friuli, and as we have just seen, Spain. Except for Africa, Britain, Southern Italy, and most of Spain, Charles controlled the western territory of the old Roman Empire, and had extended and established Christianity in much German territory never conquered by the Romans. Fifty-four in all, directed frequently by Charles himself, sometimes by his sons or lieutenants, the campaigns of Charlemagne were so incessant that the chronicler said of the unusual year 781: "This year was without war."

The Roman populace was always turbulent; the frequent papal elections provoked bitter factional disputes. In 799 a factional mob *Coronation of* attacked Leo III and he fled the city. After conferring with Charles, *Charlemagne* Leo returned to Rome where Charles joined him. The conspirators against Leo III were banished and by an oath Leo cleared himself of their charges. At St. Peter's on Christmas day, 800, Charles attended service with his retinue. The pope suddenly interrupted the service, crowned him emperor of the Romans and hailed him as *Augustus.*

The title was not so strange. In popular mind the Roman Empire was perpetual; and Charles's territories were very large. Nevertheless he was not pleased by the act of the pope. Possibly Charles was already planning to declare himself emperor; he seems to have hazily contemplated a marriage with Irene, mother of the Byzantine Emperor Constantine VI, possibly to ease the way for his assumption of imperial authority in the West. Perhaps the pope acted as he did to prevent the union of his most powerful supporter with a heretic. Anyway, Einhard reports that Charles frowned and "declared that had it been given him to foresee the pope's conduct, he had not set foot in the church, though it were the festival of Christ's nativity." In later years ambitious popes declared this coronation confirmed their claims to independence and to lordship over the emperors; by his act, they said, Leo III had again called the Empire into being. But it must seem to us that "as the act was unprecedented, so it was illegal." Charles was not content with his title until, in 812, he obtained from the Byzantines their recognition of his claims upon the West. One thing, however, is certain: Charles was in fact head of both State and Church. And to the people of his time and of later times, Charlemagne was not like Cæsar, he was Cæsar.

Charles's system of administration had as its local unit the county, under a count or *graf*. Usually local land-owning nobles, the counts controlled the civil, criminal, military and financial affairs of the counties. Charles's capitularies show his fear that they might make their places hereditary. To control the counts and check the frequent *Missi* *dominici* abuses of their power, in 802 Charles created the *missi dominici* after he had all his subjects—not merely the land-owning nobility—swear allegiance to him as emperor and obedience to the authority of the Church. As Charles made the Church practically a part of his government, the two *missi* were usually a count and a bishop. They traveled over definite parts of the kingdom, heard appeals from the counts, reported maladministration, saw that military service was not evaded, inspected monasteries, and coöperated with the bishops in maintaining discipline and in collecting the compulsory tithes. The *missi* were protected by a triple *wergeld* and armed resistance to them was punishable by death. To prevent them from conspiring with the counts they were detailed to watch, their circuits were changed every year. As protection against unscrupulous *missi*, Charles granted "immunities"

prohibiting either counts or *missi* from entering privileged lands, and making them subject only to the immediate jurisdiction of the emperor. Under the later Carolingians holders of such "immunities" became practically independent.

Charles's laws were issued as "capitularies." Though some capitularies, *capitula legi addenda,* were simply additions to particular codes, the *capitula per se scribenda,* general measures which sometimes even countermanded particular codes, were Charles's own legislation and became part of the common law. Charlemagne also instituted the sworn inquest. The inquest provided that, to obtain information of any crime or of official corruption in a neighborhood, the *missi* or counts could summon "twelve good men and true" who were bound under oath to tell what they knew of the crime. The inquest was a new practice and could be used only with royal permission. The Normans adopted it and took it to England, where in time it became the jury of English common law. Other judicial procedures were also changed. Cases were decided on evidence rather than on oaths; and those who swore to the innocence of an accused man were no longer his relatives, but property holders of the vicinity. *Capitularies*

The sworn inquest

For the guidance of the stewards of his many estates Charlemagne issued the *capitulare de villis.* Its seventy sections are a most detailed picture of the time. "Each steward on each of our domains shall always have for the sake of ornament swans, peacocks, pheasants, ducks, pigeons, partridges, and turtle doves." "For our women's work, they are to be given at the proper time . . . linen, wool, woad, vermilion, madder, wool-combs, teasels, soap, grease, vessels." "In each of our estates the chambers shall be provided with counterpanes, cushions, blankets, pillows, bedclothes, coverings for the tables and benches; vessels of brass, lead, iron and wood; andirons, chains, pot-hooks, adzes, axes, angles, knives, and all other kinds of tools so that it shall never be necessary to . . . borrow them from a neighbor." In only one section does Charlemagne mention fairs or markets; the bailiffs are enjoined to see that "our serfs do not wander off to visit markets and fairs"; the inventory of an estate of Charlemagne does not mention money. We can see how strictly agricultural was the economy of the time. Nearly everything necessary for living was locally produced. "Each steward shall make an annual account of all of our income; . . . of the pigs, of the forests, of the fields, of the bridges and *Capitulare de villis*

boats, of vineyards . . . of the hay, firewood, torches, planks and other kinds of lumber; . . . of the vegetables . . . of the wool, flax and hemp; of the fruits of the trees; of the nut trees; of the grafted trees; of the gardens; of the beets; of the fish-ponds; of hides, skins and horns; of honey, wax, fat, tallow, and soap; of mulberry wine, cooked wine, mead, vinegar, beer; of new and old grain; of hens and eggs; of geese; of the number of smiths and workers in metal, sword-makers and shoemakers; of bins and boxes and measures; of colts and fillies."

German law was personal, and Charlemagne's government was also intensely personal. The oath of fidelity to his person required of every *fidelis* was accordingly the surest bond of union in an empire so vast and of so many peoples. It was, as we have seen, an empire of an agricultural civilization. Money was rare; the manors were self-supporting to a great extent; about the only commerce from distant places was that with the Orient for silks and incense for the clergy. Taxes were still paid in produce or in services. Charles's constant wars made the required military services very burdensome. Only serfs and clerics were exempt; all freemen were required to take arms whenever Charles proclaimed the army-ban (*heerban*). The requirement became so burdensome that in 807 service was limited to owners of three or more manors; smaller owners were required only to assist in putting a man in the field. Freemen in desperation became serfs rather than maintain their dubious privilege of being drafted to serve for many months in a distant country, at their own expense.

After 800 Charles's title was: "Most serene, august, crowned by God, great and pacific Emperor, King of the Franks and Lombards." We are told that in Rome, "he wore a long tunic and cloak and put on shoes after the Roman fashion." But elsewhere "he wore the national —that is to say, the Frankish—dress—shirt and drawers of linen, a tunic with a silken fringe, and hose; his legs below the knees were cross-gartered, and on his feet were Frankish shoes. Over all he threw a blue military cape and always wore a sword." In the great wooden hall of one of his villas, surrounded by the Frank nobles, most of them with the un-Roman but typically Frank moustache, and all similarly dressed, Charles was less a Roman emperor than a German king flanked by the "companions" of his war-band. And so let us leave him.

THE EMPIRE OF
CHARLEMAGNE
SHOWING THE DIVISION OF 843

> Kingdom of Charles
>   „   „ Lothar
>   „   „ Louis

English Miles

0   50   100   200   300

KINGDOM

BALTIC

Wiltzians

S L A V I C

Hamb

Magdeb

Oder

Erfurt

Sorbs

Prague

Elbe

B O H E M I A

Brünn

Ratisbon

M O R A V I A

Augsburg

Danube

Salzburg

Inn

B A V A R I A

Pannonian March

C A R I N T H I A

Drave

Laibach

Fünfkirchen

Trent

M. of Friuli

Danube

Verona

Drave

A

Theiss

a   r   s

Venice

Save

C R O A T I A

Belgrade

B U L G A R I A

Danube

Bologna

Ravenna

Zara

Dalmatia

Florence

Pentapolis

Tuscia

Spalato

S E R V I A

Sophia

Duchy of Spoleto

Rome

Peter

DUCHY OF

S

Durazzo

A

Gaeta

Benevento

BENEVENTO

Naples

Taranto

Salerno

T Y R R H E N I A N S E A

Thessalonica

E A S T E R

Nicopolis

S E A

50

45

40

Following German custom, Frank kingdoms were regarded as the king's private property. Accordingly each Frankish king divided his domain among all his legitimate sons. This subdivision of the territory into smaller and smaller units resulted in constant rivalry among the heirs and frequent civil war, and brought about the rapid disintegration of the empire. Perhaps the simultaneous attacks of the Norsemen, Magyars and Arabs also weakened the kingdom; but more probably its feeble resistance was caused by its disintegration. Charlemagne himself had planned to divide his empire among his three sons. The survival of only one son, Louis the Pious, postponed for a time the break-up of the empire. Before his death in 814, Charles had crowned Louis the Pious, probably to obviate Louis's coronation by the pope. In 816, however, Louis submitted to another coronation by Pope Stephen IV, who had assumed pontifical authority before being confirmed by the emperor. By managing to crown some of Louis's descendants, also, and by assuming the pontificate before being confirmed by the emperors, in a few generations the popes succeeded in establishing their right of independent election and their control of the imperial crown. In 817 Louis partitioned his kingdom among his three sons, Lothair, Pepin, and Louis, to have things in ship-shape order before his death; married again, had another son, Charles, and tried to divide the empire all over again. A dreary succession of wars followed, brothers against each other and against their father. Pepin died, and after the death of Louis the Pious in 840, Louis and Charles defeated Lothair; swore the Strassburg Oath, the text of which is of unusual interest because, to make it comprehensible to the adherents of both Louis and Charles, it was in both early German and early French; and forced Lothair to accept the Treaty of Verdun (843).

Collapse of the Empire

Already split in three, the empire was further divided when Lothair, on his death in 855, partitioned his middle kingdom among his three sons. Family feuds continued and in 884 the sole living and legitimate Carolingians were Charles the Simple, who was a babe, and Charles the Fat of Germany. In 887 Charles the Fat who for three years nominally united Germany, Italy and France, but was practically King of Germany only, was deposed by Arnulf (887–99). In France Charles the Simple was eight years old and Odo, Count of Paris, was made king. He was the founder of the later Capetian dynasty of France. Government had collapsed. Few freemen could maintain their status

and most of them sunk to serfdom. Northmen and Saracens laid waste whatever lands they touched upon. "By the year 900 the anarchy seems almost complete. . . . The mail-clad knight in his stronghouse or castle was a member of some feudal complex, with the mutual rights derived from homage and vassalage. Under its protection he carried on his private wars and tyrannized where he could; and the wretched population, in their forest-circled villages, were too cowed by the long agony they had passed through, to grudge any rights, sometimes even the most iniquitous, to their fierce protectors."

But Charlemagne was never forgotten. Around his great figure grew up soon more romance and legend than about any other name in medieval times. He became a hero to succeeding German and French kings, and was placed side by side with the figures of Alexander and Cæsar. This does not mean, however, that he was relegated to antiquity. We moderns are so impressed by historical differences that we can see only the ways in which we differ from our ancestors. The medieval man saw in the heroes of antiquity patterns of kingship. Thus to associate Charlemagne with Cæsar and Alexander was not to relegate him to a limbo of worthy but hardly human beings; it was a way of indicating his greatness. So the legends of Charlemagne, riding among his soldiers and building an empire which could be compared with the older empire of Rome, became among the most powerful forces in the Middle Ages; and the greatest ambition of many a later king was to be remembered as his worthy successor.

REFERENCES FOR FURTHER READING

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CHAPTER X

THE EXPANSION AND CONQUESTS OF THE NORSE PEOPLES

B Y the eighth century western Europe had measurably recovered from the degradation and barbarism entailed by the decay of Roman civilization and the German invasions. Roman, ecclesiastical, and Germanic institutions had fused into a new civilization.

But in the ninth century this new civilization was beset by another barbarian invasion of the Norsemen or Northmen from the Danish and Scandinavian peninsulas. The Danes, the Swedes, the Norwegians, were all known as "Norsemen" in the Middle Ages, and dwelt where their descendants do to this day. Racially they were Teutonic, but historically they must be sharply distinguished from the earlier Germans. Denmark and Scandinavia were barely known to Europe before the ninth century, and then only vaguely from the word of a few adventurous traders who penetrated thither, or from an occasional piratical foray made by the Norse upon the Frisian or English coast. *A new barbarian invasion*

The Norse were pure barbarians, with the primitive Teutonic form of government, structure of society, institutions and religion. Unlike the Germans, who had been in contact with Roman civilization and Christianity for centuries before they entered the Roman Empire, the Norse had dwelt for an unknown length of time in complete isolation. They discovered Europe, not Europe them. Neither the Roman Empire nor the Frank Empire had ever tried to extend its domination over these northern lands.

Since time immemorial the Norsemen had been maritime peoples. The dense forests of beech and oak that covered the Danish peninsula, the wide morasses, the shallow, stony soil, and the steep ranges of mountains in Norway, the maze of lakes and swamps and boulder-strewn uplands in Scania (Sweden), remains of the great ice age, made these lands inhospitable except along the coast. The people dwelt along the coves and bays or at the heads of the deep fiords which indent the coast. They were a hardy seafaring and fisher folk,

adventurous and warlike, as all the primitive Germans were. But with the Norse, war took the form of piracy instead of raids by land.

Immense expansion of the Norse peoples

The geographical area of Norse expansion was immense. They colonized the Orkney, Faroe, and Shetland islands, in the ninth century deserted, or inhabited by a few Irish hermit monks; they discovered and settled Iceland and Greenland; they established a kingdom in Dublin which lasted until 1014; they conquered England and northern France; they settled in Frisia; they invaded Spain; they raided the port towns of the Riviera and Italy; a century after the creation of Normandy a Norman-French kingdom was established by the sword in southern Italy and Sicily; they penetrated Finland and the plains of northern Russia to the White Sea; they founded colonies at Novgorod and Kiev, reached the Caspian and the Black Seas, and furnished guardsmen for the Byzantine emperors in Constantinople. They came in contact with Eskimos, Lapps, Finns, Russians, Greeks, Arabs, Irish, English, French, Italians. Enormous quantities of English, Frankish, Byzantine, Arabic and Egyptian coins, plate and jewelry, have been unearthed in Scandinavian graves, tokens of their far-reaching activities.
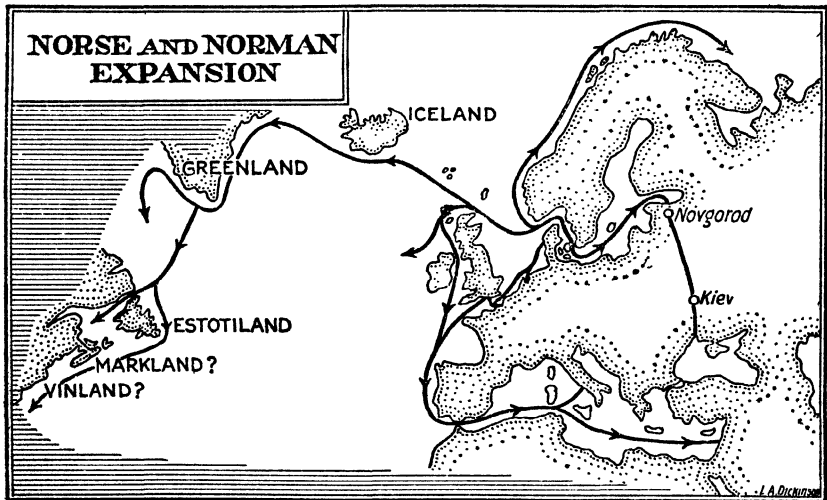
The history of the Norsemen must be found in the historical sources of the many countries which they invaded and in which they settled.

The radius of their activity was so great and the duration of their in- *Historical* vasions so protracted that nothing like a general account of them was *sources* possible by any medieval historian. Even in such countries as England and France no sustained account of the Norse invasions was ever written. The annals of the time contain nothing but dry and scattered mention of facts. Charters, capitularies, resolutions of church synods and councils eke out this information, and the lives of the saints furnish many picturesque details, often overlaid with miracle and legend.

The traditional idea that the Norsemen were solely marauders and *Economic fac-* pirates is an error. Actually they were eager traders also. Often their *tors in Norse* trade was legitimately conducted. They were old commercial friends *expansion* of the Frisians before the Frankish conquest of Frisia. Indeed, the Norsemen looked upon the Frankish conquest of Frisia and of Saxony as a grievance, for it interrupted their commercial relations with those two peoples. Norse merchants brought furs and ivory to Dorestadt in Frisia and Haddeby in Schleswig until as late as the reign of Louis the Pious. When St. Ansgar, "the apostle of Sweden," went thither, he traveled with merchants of Dorestadt to Birka, then an important Swedish port on an island in Lake Mälar (now Björkö), near the later Stockholm, where he found "many rich merchants and a large amount of goods."

But the need of feeding an expanding population or addiction to *Influence of* piracy, or desire for trade does not wholly explain the great Danish *the develop-* and Norse migrations. Political events at home also stimulated the *ment of king-* expansion of the viking peoples. For just as among the early Germans *Norse ex-* first chieftainship and then kingship arose, so among the Norse peo- *pansion* ples the rise of one-man power among them led to the exodus of many a jarl too proud to submit to the prowess of a stronger chieftain. In 872 in a fierce naval battle fought at Hafrsfiord, Harold Haarfagr *Battle of* (the Fair-haired) subjugated all the rival jarls along the Norwegian *Hafrsfiord* coast and created the first Scandinavian state. The defeated jarls, *(872) Harold* rather than submit, sought refuge in the northern islands. *Haarfagr*

In addition to economic pressure, the Danes were impelled to move by both a developing kingship and religious fanaticism. The Frank *Early* conquest of the Saxons, who in the last stages of their war to preserve *Denmark* their independence were helped by their Danish fellow pagans, alarmed the Danes, too, lest Charlemagne should extend his power over them. We may believe that Danish aggressions upon the Frank land were

as much defensive as offensive, and that their notorious spoliation of the monasteries was caused by pagan fanaticism as well as by avarice.

Routes of expansion

The expansion of the Norse peoples is a striking illustration of the influence of geography upon history, in this instance the seas being the conditioning factor. The Swedes crossed the Baltic, invaded Russia, and made a route across it clear to the Black Sea. This was the "Eastern or Varangian route." Although some Danish settlements were established at the mouths of the German rivers, the Danes mostly followed down the coast as far as Brittany and even beyond, or else crossed over to the opposite shore of England. Theirs was the "middle passage." The Norwegians, with many Danes, for the most part followed the "outer passage" around the head of Scotland, where they swept the Orkney, the Faroe, and the Shetland islands into their grasp and thence pushed onwards to Ireland, Iceland and Greenland. For centuries these islands were half-way stations for their ships *en voyage*. Those plying between Iceland and Norway regularly wintered there.

Stages in conquests of the Norsemen

During the first half of the ninth century the forays of the Northmen were summer expeditions, the marauders returning home in the autumn with their booty. But by the middle of the century the Northmen had begun to winter in the land. For this purpose they always erected a fortified camp, if possible upon a convenient island, such as Sheppey and Thanet in England, Walcheren, Wessel and Noirmoutier off the coast of France. From these encampments as bases they raided the regions round about. For some years their depredations were confined to the coast; but as they grew bolder, as military resistance to them time and again proved ineffectual, they penetrated deeper and deeper into the interior. The seaboard areas, repeatedly plundered, became exhausted and the local population fled for safety into the interior, drawing the invaders after them. The monasteries were invariably attacked for the Norsemen who discovered that the abbeys were rich in cattle, horses and portable stuff, especially in hoarded coin, bullion, and precious plate.

The Norsemen soon found their way around Brittany and their discoveries of the mouths of the Loire and the Garonne opened up new fields of exploitation. They established a formidable encampment on the island of Noirmoutier in the estuary of the Loire. They pillaged rich abbeys in Touraine, notably Saint-Martin of Tours. In the south they ascended the Garonne as far as Toulouse. The rivers curiously

exposed France to invasion by these seafarers. The Somme led the
Norsemen to Amiens, the Seine to Paris; Tours and Orléans were
on the Loire, and Toulouse on the Garonne. The Norsemen first
attacked the river mouths and their principal centers were on the
Scheldt, the lower Seine, and the Loire. After the first fierce visita-
tion Frisia was left to itself. The deplorable state of the Carolingian
Empire aided the invaders, for while the princes were squabbling with
one another, the Norsemen for the first time entered the Seine. After
840 the annals are filled with accounts of their exploits. In 843 for the
first time they mounted the Seine beyond Rouen. They attacked Paris
in 845, in 857, in 861. In 852 the Northmen harried Aquitaine for a
second time. In May, 853, they burned Luçon, in southern Poitou,
and Nantes. The high water of the Loire saved Tours from attack
in this year, but the monastery of Marmoutier across the stream was
entirely destroyed, one hundred and sixteen of the inmates being
massacred, the abbot succumbing to torture rather than reveal the
hiding-place of the treasure. Le Mans, was burned in 853 and Blois
in 854.

In 860 Charles the Bald, in despair of dislodging a Norse force
under Björn, which was pillaging the whole lower Seine valley, made
a treaty with Weland, another Norse chieftain. In order to pay We-
land the enormous sum he demanded to expel Björn, the King im-
posed a heavy Danegeld upon the churches, the monasteries, the
nobles, the merchants, and even the poor peasantry. While this ex-
traordinary tax was being collected, Weland and his band made an
excursion to England and did not return until the following year.
Having received the sum agreed upon, Weland mounted the Seine
and attacked Björn's camp. Björn promptly surrendered his spoil and
was let go free; he then established two new camps, nearer Paris than
before, one at Melun, the other at the mouth of the Marne. The
Danegeld, first resorted to by the monks of Saint-Denis in 845, proved
so useless that between 852 and 884 nine subsequent tributes were paid.
A state so weak as to be obliged to purchase peace could easily be
victimized. The difficulty of collecting the necessary sums indicates
how thoroughly the forces of the land had been drained. Every free-
man was assessed at six denarii, in addition to the military tax of sixty
solidi, each unfree at three, each *colonus* at two, and each serf at one.
A tenth of all merchandise was demanded and even the clergy were

taxed according to their property. Nevertheless the sum often could not be collected.

Charles the Bald died in 877, and the weak Louis the Stammerer became king. The growth of local—that is, feudal—authority revealed the appalling weakness of the central government. By the Treaty of Wedmore in 879 between Alfred the Great and Guthrum the Dane, England was divided and all the eastern shires of England ceded to the Danes. England was now largely closed to further incursion; moreover, the achievement of Guthrum in England whetted the ambition of other chieftains to accomplish a similar territorial conquest in France. The great victory of Harold Haarfagr in 872 further increased the number of these raiders, for it drove into exile many jarls too proud to accept subjugation at home, who took to lands across the sea, each with his crew of hard-rowing, hard-fighting adventurers. Norse attacks upon France became more violent.

Renewal of Norse attacks in France

In 879 the famous "grand army" entered the Scheldt, established quarters at Ghent, and thence ravaged Tournai, Courtrai, Cambrai and the whole valley of the Somme, Arras, Amiens, and the monasteries of Corvey, Saint-Bavon, Saint-Vaast, Saint-Riquier, and Saint-Omer. In July 880 they crossed the Somme and threatened Beauvais. Frisia and Flanders suffered in like manner, where the Rhine, the Meuse, the Scheldt, the Waal, and the Yser afforded the Norsemen easy entrance into the land. They penetrated as far as Aachen, and Cologne was endangered. For a moment the brilliant victory of Ludwig III of France over them at Saucourt in 881—an engagement storied in ballad—checked their depredations. In 882 Charles the Fat might have captured the Norseman camp at Elsloo near Maastricht, but he resorted to negotiation. The Norse chieftain Godefried was granted Frisia as a German Danelaw on condition of becoming Christian and recognizing the feudal overlordship of the German crown. Two other chiefs, Siegfried and Wurm, received large gifts of money. "The humiliated army," says a contemporary, "was filled with shame to be under the command of such a prince." Flanders suffered from Norse depredations until King Arnulf stormed and destroyed the famous Norse encampment on the Dyle at Louvain in 891. The valley of the Garonne and the provinces of southwestern France again were devastated by the Norsemen in this disastrous decade. Bordeaux was twice captured; Périgueux, Poitiers, and Toulouse were sacked. The

Battle of Saucourt

Frisia conquered (882)

Southern France and Spain ravaged

Norse fleets even rounded the Spanish peninsula and ravaged the ports of Christian and Mohammedan Spain, infested the western Mediterranean, penetrated up the Rhone, and pillaged Nîmes and Avignon.

But the basin of the Seine, with Paris, was the supreme object of attack. It was manifest by 885 that the whole Channel coast of France was to become a Norse dominion, although the actual cession of the territory and the creation of Normandy were deferred until 912. On November 24, 885 a Norse host to the number of forty thousand men and seven hundred vessels, under Hrolf, Siegfried, Ragnold, and other chieftains, began a concerted attack upon Paris. For months *Great siege* the people held out, led by Count Odo and his brother Robert, sons *of Paris* of Robert the Strong. At last in September 886, ten months after the beginning of the siege, the Emperor Charles the Fat tardily arrived from Italy only to conclude a wretched peace by purchase (October 886). He appointed Odo count of Paris and duke of the Franks and then, after this single visit, quitted the realm forever. Nevertheless the great siege of Paris arrested the progress of the Norsemen and raised Paris to a place of pre-eminent importance. The Carolingian capital city of Laon had now a rival, and France a new dynasty in the rising house of Paris.

On the death of Charles the Fat, Odo was elected and crowned king of France (February, 888). His prompt defeat of the Norsemen at Montfaucon in July, 888, enabled him to maintain his position. At his death in 898 the chronic war against the Norsemen was headed by the new king, Charles the Simple, the sole surviving brother of the hero of Saucourt. Charles drove the Norsemen from around Paris. They tried to establish quarters in Burgundy, but the resistance of the Burgundians was so strong that they retreated to their ships on the lower Seine. Hrolf, the Norseman who later became the Duke of Normandy, is first mentioned as attacking Bayeux, (890–892).

The Norsemen made Rouen their capital and continued to settle along the seaboard. In 912, however, they failed before Chartres and shortly afterward the peace of Saint-Clair-sur-Epte was concluded with Charles the Simple. Officially they had gained a great deal of territory by the treaty. But in the territory ceded to Hrolf—the Channel coast from the Somme to Brittany—the Norsemen had already practically dispossessed the Frankish rulers. Thus the treaty did little more than confirm an accomplished fact. Indeed, as the ceded territory

was part of the duchy of Francia and not part of the crown possessions, and as Hrolf became a vassal of Charles the Simple, Charles suffered no loss in actual power. Rather he had gained a powerful vassal whom he could play off against the count of Paris, and had barred Paris from the sea. In the next twenty years Hrolf, as Duke of Normandy, built towns, repaired monasteries, and reclaimed the land. He made earnest efforts to induce repopulation. The people still remaining were not dispossessed, although they had so suffered in property and goods that they had next to nothing to lose. The Frankish lords were the only real losers. For most of the people the presence of the Norsemen simply meant a change of overlord. The change of institutions in the *terra Normannorum* was very rapid. Wherever they colonized, and particularly in France and England, the Norse speedily adopted the language, the manners, and the institutions of the people among whom they settled. Within a hundred years after the conquest the Norse had become Norman-French in language, institutions, culture. But fortunately they retained much of the vigor that had characterized their ancestors. When Carolingian Europe passed away and Europe began to develop the system of feudalism, Norman government, whether in France or in England or in Italy and Sicily, displayed a marked vigor.

Character of government in Normandy

It was a foreign invasion with its resulting destruction and fear which finally brought about the unification of the English kingdoms. In 787 the second wave of Teutonic invaders, who were also plaguing the rest of Christendom, touched English shores. Known on the continent as the Northmen or Norsemen, in England they were called the Danes. It was some time before the Danes made a serious effort to conquer England, but when they did, about the middle of the ninth century, they overran Northumbria, East Anglia, Essex and parts of Mercia in a few years' time, and then attacked the territory of the West Saxons. The rest of England was only saved by the efforts of Alfred the Great (871–899), King of Wessex, the supremacy of which in England had been established by his grandfather Egbert (802–839). He reorganized the Saxon military system, enspirited his people and, after much hardship, finally drove the Danes out of Southwestern England. In 879 by the Peace of Wedmore the Danes agreed to evacuate Wessex and become Christians. Seven years later, after more fighting, a boundary line was drawn from Chester to London, and

Danish conquests of England

Alfred the Great

the Danes were confined to the territory north of that line. This area was called the *Danelagh* or Danelaw. Alfred died in 899, but his son and grandsons slowly reconquered the Danelaw until by 954 all England was unified under the rule of the King of Wessex, now properly called the King of England. England means "Land of the Angles." Traces of the early kingdoms long survived in some of the shires. For as Wessex extended her sway the kingdoms of the seventh century became shires in the ninth.

In the half-century which followed the reconquest of the Danelaw the kings of England were not so capable as Alfred. The result was that the country fell a victim to another wave of Danish invaders. This time, however, the Danes came as a nation rather than as separate roving bands, and in 1016 Knut, son of the King of Norway and Denmark, became King of England. His rule with that of his childless sons lasted until 1042, when the heir of the old Saxon line was restored to the throne. Knut ruled quietly and well, and the change of dynasty did not have any great effect on the life of the people.

In addition to narrating their political history we must attempt to give some description of the customs and institutions of the Anglo-Saxons, and since medieval England differed more from the continental nations in her governmental and legal systems than in any other features we shall concentrate on those topics. At the head of the government, of course, there was the king whose duty it was to lead his people in case of war, and administer justice in time of peace. He was usually of the royal family, but not always the eldest son, because the *witanagemot* or council of the leading men of the country chose the *The Witan* new king with a view to his abilities as well as to his relationship with the former ruler. Of course he could not do all the work of ruling himself, but was assisted by the members of his household, such as the butler, chamberlain, marshal and chancellor or secretary. When the king was only ruling a small area these assistants were his personal servants, who looked after his food, bed-chamber, stable, correspondence and the like. As his power grew the king delegated these more personal duties to subordinates who devoted themselves to affairs of state but retained the old names. The household members were in constant attendance upon the king and did most of the routine work of the central government. The witanagemot was composed of an indefinite number of the leading men of the country, such as members

of the royal family, great churchmen, the important members of the royal household and the leading nobles. They met with the king several times a year and not only advised him on matters of state, but also acted as a court in which new laws might be declared and important cases tried.

Local government   This was the central or national governmental organization. To provide for local government the country was divided up into a number of *shires,* later called counties. Some of these were survivals of old independent kingdoms, as has been said, such as Essex, and others were set up arbitrarily after the conquest of the Danelaw. Each shire was divided into a number of smaller areas called *hundreds,* perhaps because they originally were supposed to furnish one hundred men in time of war. Finally in each hundred there were vills or *villages,* sometimes called tuns or townships. Some of the largest of these towns possessed special privileges and were called boroughs. The English kings possessed various officers for looking after these local areas. At first a few very powerful nobles called ealdormen or *earls* administered the shires, usually in groups of twos and threes. But later the king appointed in addition special agents or reeves, one to each shire to look after his interests there. These were called shire-reeves or *sheriffs.* They in turn appointed subordinate reeves to look after the hundreds and vills.

Courts   Each shire and hundred had its court, which conducted a good deal of administrative business as well as heard suits. The shire court met at least twice a year and was composed of all the leading men of the shire, headed by the earl, sheriff, or possibly the bishop. The hundred court, composed of the freemen of the hundred, met once a month under the direction of the sheriff or his reeve, and handled all ordinary cases. A Saxon trial at law was far different from a modern one. The plaintiff had to summon the defendant to court and state his case in a precise form. The defendant then might deny the charge, also in a set form. If either failed to observe all the technicalities of the court he lost his case at once. If, however, both stood their ground successfully, the court would award proof to one party or the other, usually to the defendant. That meant that he must prove his innocence. Usually this was done by compurgation, that is he must find a certain number of oath-helpers, usually six or twelve, to swear to his innocence. They did not need to know the facts in the case, but since men felt that to

swear to a lie under oath was to endanger their chances of future sal-   *Laws*
vation, if they had reason to doubt the story of the one who asked them
to swear with him they would refuse to do so, and therefore he would
lose his case. If he could secure the assigned number of oath-helpers,
however, he would make his proof and win the case. This was the
process used in civil cases, that is, where the suit was over property. In
criminal cases, where a person was accused of some crime, he might
instead be asked to submit to the ordeal. There were two kinds of these
used by the English, those by fire and those by water. In the former
case the accused was required to carry a piece of red-hot iron in his
hand a short distance. In the latter he must plunge his hand into boil-
ing water. In both cases the wound was bound up and in three days
inspected by the priest. If it seemed to be healing properly the accused
was declared innocent, otherwise he was guilty. If guilty the court as
a whole fixed the penalty, which might in extreme cases be death or
slavery. Usually, however, it consisted of the payment of a *wer* or *bot*.
The *wer* was a payment made to the family of a slain man, while the
bot was a payment for an injury which had not resulted in death. Later
there was also added a *wite*, or payment to the state, what we would
call a fine. These payments were usually of a fixed nature and varied
according to the rank of the man injured or killed. For example, the
wer of a noble was six times that of an ordinary man. In some parts
of England there was an additional device in operation for keeping the
peace. The inhabitants were organized into groups of ten men or more
each, called *tithings*, and the group was held jointly responsible for the
offenses of any member.

In the early Anglo-Saxon period, excluding the clergy, who were   *Social classes*
the highest "estate," there were four social classes. At the top stood
the king, then came the earls or nobles, then the common people or
peasantry, who were called ceorls, and lastly slaves. The nobles
originally obtained their position by military ability; but as the titles
were hereditary a definite class grew up based on landed wealth.
During the Danish period a new class of nobility called *thegns* grew
up. They were men of ability who "throve to thegnhood" because
of their services to the king or success in other lines, rather than obtain-
ing the rank by birth. Eventually this rank became hereditary also.
The ceorls at the beginning of this period were free men, living to-
gether in villages and farming the surrounding land by the open-field

system of cultivation. That is the fields were not fenced in or enclosed, and were farmed more or less in common. There were three arable areas in all, of which one was allowed to lie fallow each year. Each family head possessed certain strips of land scattered throughout the big fields. The same crop was planted throughout each field, but the owner of the various strips received the produce from his particular land.

By the time of the Danish conquest these ceorls had sunk in the social scale, and many were serfs or villeins on manors owned by the nobles. The process by which these free villages came under the con-

English feudalism

trol of the powerful landlords is a complicated one, but the Danish invasions contributed a great deal to it. When the free farmers were endangered they would sacrifice their freedom to obtain protection, or they might do so to obtain financial assistance in time of need. The king was also responsible in part, because he kept putting more emphasis on mounted thegns as the important part of his military force, and in return for their services might grant them certain rights, such as that of holding court in certain areas, which gave them the upper hand over the ceorls. By the end of the Saxon period, therefore, a rudimentary system of feudalism prevailed, quite vague on the political side, but fairly definitely developed as an economic institution. The villeins owed their overlords a certain number of days' work each week, and in addition certain payments, usually in produce. They were bound to the soil, that is they could not leave the manor if they desired to do so, and their children must follow them in that status. On the other hand, the lord owed them protection; he could not sell them apart from the estate, and they were protected by being entitled to a *bot* or *wer* if injured or killed.

From an economic point of view agriculture was by far the most important occupation of the English. There was, however, some commerce with the continent, and this was greatly stimulated by the Danes. Tin, wool and some slaves were exported, and various luxuries such as gems, olive oil, silk and furs were imported.

The Saxon heir who was restored after the death of Knut's sons

Edward the Confessor

was named Edward, and being of an intensely religious disposition, was surnamed the Confessor. He had spent his youth in exile at the court of his cousin Robert, the Duke of Normandy, and so was as much Norman as English. He favored Norman ideas and filled many

of his offices with men from that country. The earl Godwin was the most powerful man in England, not even excepting the king, and had been the leader of the Saxons who opposed the influx of Norman followers which Edward had furthered. On his death his son Harold, though no relation to Edward save by marriage, was regarded by the English as the natural successor to the throne.

When Edward the Confessor died in 1066 Duke William of Normandy claimed the English throne by virtue of being his second cousin, and because Harold, when his prisoner on one occasion, had been forced to take an oath recognizing his right to succeed. He also maintained that Edward himself had promised him the crown. But the most important factor in the situation, next to his army, was the support of the pope, which he received because the Saxons had driven out the Norman Archbishop of Canterbury, who had received the papal *pallium*. The Saxon Council or witan, however, elected Harold king, and William prepared to invade England. He was aided in this design by a rival candidate, Harold Hardrada, King of Norway and representative of Knut's line, who also invaded England at the same time, and so, though defeated and slain in the battle of Stamford Bridge, prevented Harold the Saxon from concentrating his forces against William. The result was that the Norman Duke was able to land his forces on the south coast of England, and Harold was defeated and killed at the battle of Hastings on October 14, 1066. William soon procured his election by the witan and thus firmly seated himself on the throne. He is known in history as William the Conqueror. *Norman conquest 1066*

Battle of Hastings (1066)

Ireland had escaped the barbarian invasions of the fifth century. The "white pagans," the Norse, first appeared in Ireland in 795. Their ravages became serious in 823. The chronic internecine strife of the Irish clans prevented any serious resistance, and it is a wonder that the whole island was not conquered. But for the most part the Norse were content with establishing themselves in the bays and estuaries of the coast, as at Dublin, Limerick, Cork, Waterford, and Wexford. They plundered the interior of the island, especially the monasteries, and provoked a new exodus from Ireland, hundreds of fugitive monks fleeing to the continent for refuge in the monasteries of France, Flanders, and Germany. The most famous of these refugees were Sedulius Scotus, the Irish poet, and John Scotus Erigena (John the Scot of *The Danes in Ireland*

Ireland), the greatest scholar of the ninth century, who found a patron in Charles the Bald.

But just when the Irish began to resist the Norwegians successfully (845–50), in 852 the "black pagans" or Danes appeared in Ireland. Though they were more formidable than their predecessors, even the Danes never conquered the whole island. For nearly two hundred years the Danish "kingdom" of Dublin was an important state, both politically and commercially, of the far-flung but never politically united Norse empire. The heroic Irish chieftain Brian of Munster at the battle of Clontarf (1014) finally recaptured it from the Danes.

Danish kingdom of Dublin

In following the "outer passage" the Norse, as we have seen, conquered and colonized the Orkney, the Shetland, and the Faroe islands and partially occupied Ireland. Whether they learned in Ireland of a great and almost unknown island lying far away in the North Atlantic—for it is certain that Irish monks had wandered to Iceland, though they may not have settled there—or whether, as a saga relates, a Norwegian ship was driven by storm far out of its course, the Norse discovered Iceland about the year 861. But the colonization of Iceland began only in 874, when Ingolfr Arnarson, having been driven out of his homeland, first settled there. Iceland then rapidly became a new Norway, strikingly like the old country, a federation of tiny villages nestling at the heads of the fiords or extending up the valleys.

Norse discovery and settlement of Iceland (c. 861)

From Iceland the Norse explored still farther west. According to the sagas, an Icelander named Gunnbjörn was cast by storm upon one of the islands off the eastern coast of Greenland. This news of land farther west stirred Erik the Red in 986 to attempt to found a colony there. His son Leif Erikson continued the effort to found a colony in Greenland, and then again sailed west. By the year 1000 he had explored the northwest coast of America. Authorities dispute whether Vinland was Nova Scotia or Cape Cod or Rhode Island. But there is little doubt of the fact of Norse discovery of America. Nova Scotia seems to have been known as Markland, Newfoundland as Helluland, Cape Cod as Vinland. Greenland shortly became a prosperous Norse colony. Settlers flocked in, most from Iceland, some even from Norway. Villages arose, churches were built. In 1126 the bishopric of Gardar was established. A monastery in Greenland in the twelfth century was heated by pipes of hot water laid on from a natural hot spring. The

Leif Erikson discovers Greenland (1000)

Greenlanders maintained a lively commerce with Norway, exporting fish and furs and whale oil.

As the Norwegians and Danes crossed the North Sea and the North Atlantic, so the Swedes crossed the Baltic to Russia. The word *"Rus"* indeed, was originally the Finnish word for "rowers" and was used by the Finns and Slavs to describe the Swedes. Our knowledge of Russia before the Swedish invasion is gleaned from scattered allusions of early Byzantine chroniclers, and from archæology. With the Swedish invasion of the ninth century, Russian recorded history begins. *Swedes in Russia*

"In the ninth century when the Russian annals first begin to give us a systematic record of the Russian people and their princes, Russia appears to us as a well-shaped body, as an organized state, with its own peculiar political, social, and economic structure, and endowed with a high and flourishing civilization. Russia of the ninth century consisted of many important commercial cities, situated partly on the Dnieper and its tributaries, partly in the far north on Lake Ilmen, and partly in the east on the upper Volga. Each of these cities possessed a large territory populated by different Slavonic tribes and had its own self-government, with a popular assembly, a council of the eldest and elected magistrates. For the purpose of defending its flourishing trade the population of each town invited a special body of trained and well-armed warriors, commanded by a prince. To this prince each city intrusted also the task of collecting tribute from the population, and of fulfilling some administrative and judicial duties. These princes with their retinues were called in Russia Varangians." [1]

This policy of maintaining special bodies of troops permitted the Swedes to get a foothold in Russia. The *Life of St. Ansgar,* the first apostle to the North, tells of the depredations and settlement of the Swedes in Kurland, and their occupation of Novgorod soon followed. This famous city had developed around a fort erected by the Slavs on the Volchov, which the Varangians called Holmgadr or Holmgaard. The Swedes, who like all the Norse peoples were eager traders, soon began to extend their sway into the interior. They followed up the course of the Volchov River and down that of the Dnieper until by the end of the ninth century they had established the famous Varangian route from the Baltic to the Black Sea. In 882 (or there- *Varangian route*

Novgorod

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[1] **BEAZLEY,** *Russia from the Varangians to the Bolsheviks.*

Kiev

abouts) one of these Swedish chieftains, Rurik, got possession of Kiev. The duchy of Kiev, thus created, was another Normandy, which, unlike Normandy in France rapidly expanded its sway directly or indirectly over much of the great Russian plain and peoples. By the first quarter of the eleventh century Kiev is said to have had eight markets and was in trade relation with the Poles, the Hungarians, the Germans, Constantinople and Baghdad.

Relation with Byzantine Empire

Although for a century the Swedes alternately fought and traded with Constantinople, which they called Tsargrad—there were four expeditions against Constantinople in the tenth century—nevertheless they finally perceived that trade was more lucrative than war. Every spring whole fleets of lightly built boats bearing furs, hemp, wax, tar, amber and especially slaves, came down the Dnieper. From Byzantium and the East came silks and spices, curiously wrought metal wares, glassware, turquoises and gaudy jewelry, dear to the barbarian heart. The Byzantine emperors soon discovered the fighting abilities of these Swedes in Russia, and for nearly two hundred years the imperial Varangian Guard was recruited from the Swedes. But after their mutiny in 1079 Alexius Comnenus recruited the Varangian Guard from Anglo-Saxons who had left England after 1066 to escape the rigorous rule of William the Conqueror.

During this period of Norse expansion three new Norse kingdoms were established in the homelands.

Formation of Norway

After the death of Harold Haarfagr his sons quarreled for possession of his kingdom. Nearly a hundred years of strife ensued. Haakon, the eldest son, who had dwelt for some years at the Anglo-Saxon court, dethroned his brother Erik Bloodaxe, vanquished the Jomsburg vikings who had established a pirate state at the mouth of the Oder in Pomerania, and drove out Olof Trigvessoen, his nephew, who also aspired to the lordship of the North. Olof had lived in England and in Novgorod, had become Christian, and was ambitious to unite Norway and Sweden, the northern islands, Iceland, and Ireland into a great Norse empire. He perished in 1000 in a sea-fight with Haakon's son Erik of Rügen in the Baltic. The Danes then became the

Sweden

rulers of the North and Erik Bloodaxe served as a vassal in the Danish conquest of England by Sweyn and Knut.

Kingship and Christianity developed in Denmark soon after the Frank conquest of Saxony. In his youth Ebbo, the archbishop of

Reims, had been a missionary in Jutland during the reign of Louis the Pious and St. Ansgar had labored there and in Sweden. But Odinism held sway in Denmark until the year 1000. The earliest great *Denmark* Danish chieftain of whom we know was Ragnar Lodbrok, who, with the Norwegians, harried England, France and Ireland in the ninth century. After him came the three most famous Danish marauders. Godfrey conquered Frisia; Guthrum conquered the Danelaw in England; and Hrolf became the founder of Normandy. Gorm the Old, great-grandson of Ragnar Lodbrok, who subjugated the petty chieftains of the Danish peninsula, was the last pagan King of Denmark. Harold Bluetooth, Gorm's son, was baptized about 960. Harold extended his domination over the southern part of Norway; his son Sweyn Forkbeard reduced Norway to vassalage and conquered England. Sweyn's son, Knut the Great, ruled England, Denmark, part of Scotland, Norway, and the Pomeranian coast of the Baltic, where, at the mouths of the Peene, the Oder, and the Vistula, were Danish colonies, half commercial, half military.

In promoting the growth of feudalism by compelling the local proprietary class to rely upon their own resources and to build castles, in hastening the banishment of the Carolingian system, which deserved to forfeit its rule, owing to its weakness and inability to adjust *Growth of* itself to the new conditions of a new age, even in the effect that the *feudal condi-* Norse invasions had upon the promotion of serfdom—for security *tions every-* was worth more than liberty to the mass of mankind in the ninth and *where* tenth centuries—the invasions of the Norsemen in the long run were of advantage to western Europe. Wherever the Norse settled, they made the people among whom they settled stronger and sturdier folk. The strength and vigor of their institutions may be said almost to have revolutionized government in northern France, England, and Russia. Their influence upon commerce was as great. They created a new economic world; they established new methods of trade.

The Norse gave as much as they got, and from the point of view of quality the balance is almost all in their favor. For they gave themselves, their blood, their spirit, to the peoples among whom they settled. Both the Anglo-Saxon and the Frank races were going to seed in the ninth century. In England and in France the influence of the Norse was like an alloy with gold; they hardened the nascent feudal institutions which they found there, and gave them edge and efficiency.

The remarkable assimilative quality of the Norse enabled them, to the benefit of the English and the French nations, to sink themselves into them and become one with them. The origins of Norman law are French, not Danish. The sworn inquest of "twelve good men and true" passed from the Franks to the Normans, and from them to England, there to develop into the jury system. The achievements of the Norse peoples are among the most important events in medieval history. One historian has even said of their total accomplishment that "it is, perhaps, the most decisive fact in the story of the Christian Middle Ages."

Historical im-

the Norse peoples

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EUROPE
ABOUT A.D. 1000

☐ Western Roman Empire
(Roman Empire of the German Nation)

English Miles

0   100   200   300   400

KINGDOM

OF SWEDEN

DENMARK

Lynn

Bornholm

Rügen   Danzig

Stettin   Pomerania   Prussians

Brandenb   Posen   Ma

nh.Mark   Plock   zovia

of Lusatia   DUCHY   Vistula

Meissen   OF POLAND

M. of Meissen   Breslau

Silesia   Craca   Chrobatia

Duchy of   M. of

bury   Prague   Moravia

Jordan   Bohemia   Brünn

ugsburg   Regensbon   Mark of   Presbury

D. of   Austria

Bavaria   Salzbu   Stuhlweissenb

H   U   N   G   A   R   Y

D.of Carinthia   Zagrab   K.   OF

Trent   Agram

Verona

Venice   K.   OF   Transylvani

Ravenna   CROATIA   Belg

Spoleto   Venetian Possessions

State   SERVIA

Rome   Bene   Ragusa

the Church   Dyrrhachium

Gaéta   (Durazzo)   Brindisi

Nap   Sal   Salerno

Palermo   Reggio   Cephalenia

Sicily   Pelo   esus

E   A   S   T   E

AEGEAN SEA

Crete

BALTIC SEA

Estonian

Livonians

Lithuanians

Minsk

R   Pinsk   U   S   S   I   A

Pripet

Kiev   Tchernigov

Halisc   Dniester

Dnieper

Patzinaks

Pruth   Petschenegs

K.   OF   Cherson

Transylvani   Danube

BULGARIA   BLACK SEA

Varna   Amastris

Constantinople

Macedonia

EMPIRE

CHAPTER XI

CAPETIAN FRANCE (912–1270)

FRANCE in the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries was essentially feudal. Although complete sovereignty was exercised by relatively few nobles, sovereignty everywhere was more or less combined with proprietorship; and public law and private right *Racial ele-* were confused. The subdivision of territories under the later Carolin- *ments in* gians was accentuated by the varieties of peoples found in France. The *France* basic element of the French people was Gallo-Roman. The population of the northeast and east was more German than that in the Seine basin. The Bretons in the northwest were almost pure Celts. South of the Loire Gallo-Roman blood predominated; Provence and the Mediterranean provinces were almost entirely Gallo-Roman. The Gascons of the southwest were of Basque descent.

Charlemagne was a name to conjure with, and the last Carolingians were sustained largely by the principle of legitimacy. The hardiest feudal usurper could with difficulty get out of his head the notion that, however weak and incapable, the king because of his blood was alone entitled to be called king. This curiously protracted loyalty in men otherwise even hostile to the royal welfare was supplemented by the influence of the French Church, which was traditionally legitimist in policy. We can almost explain the failure of the Carolingians to maintain themselves against the house of Paris by indicating the nature of the lands controlled by the two houses. With the exception of Normandy, almost all northern France from the Somme to the Loire pertained to Robert of Paris, a brother of Odo, the hero of the great siege of Paris, who had been made king in 888. As "lay abbot" Robert also appropriated the revenues of the rich abbeys of Saint-Martin of Tours and Marmoutier. Thus he had a compact block of territory of great wealth and with many vassals. In comparison the crown lands of Charles the Simple, except in Lorraine, were mere disconnected patches.

In 922 Robert of Paris revolted and was hailed as king by his par-

tisans, even by some of the bishops. In 923, though Robert was killed in battle, Charles the Simple was defeated. He took refuge with the Count of Vermandois, who treacherously imprisoned him and starved him to death. Significant of the cruelty and ruthlessness of the feudality, not a sword was drawn to release the king. As Hugh, Robert's son, was a child, the victorious feudal party elected his uncle, Raoul, Duke of Burgundy, to the throne. Raoul's reign (923–36) interrupted the Carolingian rule and strengthened the power of the duke of France.

The last Carolingians

The widow of Charles the Simple, with her son Louis, took refuge in England. The exiled prince was the center of legitimist hopes and on the death of Raoul in 936, the legitimist agitation was strong enough to induce Hugh, now grown to manhood, to become a legitimist himself. Louis d'Outremer (from-beyond-the-sea) returned and was taken to Paris, whither came the *militia regni* to acknowledge him. In 943 Duke William Longsword of Normandy died and his son Richard became legally the ward of the king. Louis might have used Norman support to break the power of Hugh of Paris; instead he plotted to kill Richard and seize Normandy for himself. The Normans learned of his plot and, when he came to Rouen to assume the wardship of the little duke, closed the city gates upon him. Hugh of Paris promptly appeared, righteously indignant that a king should so seek to advance himself, carried Louis off and released him only when he had yielded Laon. In 954 Louis IV died and his son Lothair was made king. In 956 Hugh died, and his son, Hugh Capet became Duke of France and Count of Paris.

In 978 Lothair made a madcap expedition into Lorraine, and the next summer Otto II retaliated by making a spectacular but futile siege of Paris. In 983 Lothair even plotted with Henry the Wrangler of Bavaria against the young Otto III; Hugh Capet in turn agreed with Otto's mother to stop Lothair by force, if necessary. But Lothair died in 986; his son was killed a year later while hunting; and Hugh Capet

Accession of Hugh Capet (987)

was crowned king (987). Many of the dukes were stronger than the house of Paris. But for three hundred years the Capetians never failed of a male heir, and it was the later growth of the Capetians which was the historically important result. The event of 987 was a change of dynasty in France, it was not a revolution. Two legal and historical authorities were merged in Hugh Capet. He was heir to the imprescriptible privileges of the Carolingians and he was chief suzerain of

all the feudatories within the realm. In 987 France was an aggregation of heterogeneous fiefs, each with its own dynasty, institutions, customary law. Fifty-six of the great lords coined their own money; and there were ten major dialects. The civilization was one of almost unrelieved violence; the feudal nobles were undeterred by sacred oaths or even excommunication. Recruited from the feudality, the clergy carried into the Church the spirit of the secular world. Archambaud of Sens moved the altar of the cathedral into the porch, stabled his horses in the chapel and kenneled his dogs in the choir. The monks were no better; only at the new foundation of Cluny was there light. In this violent civilization the Capetians used now their privileges as heirs of the Carolingians, now their privileges as chief suzerains, to extend their authority.

We must understand that the family land of the medieval king largely determined his power. We must distinguish between "the *domain* of the king, which he held before his election, as a feudal proprietor, and the royal rights which . . . were conferred on him only by election. . . . As the idea of property is simpler than the idea of kingship, it is not surprising to find that the kings manifested a strong tendency to look upon their kingdoms *as domains* . . . The medieval kingship . . . was at first clearly elective. But the elective king had hereditary domains; and when these went to his heir, it was natural that the kingship should go with them." The extensive houselands of the Capetians gave the crown material resources it had not possessed under the Carolingians. Reign after reign the Capetians strove to establish the heritability of the crown in their dynasty; to extend the royal domain; to convert their suzerainty over the great nobles into real authority; to develop a tax and fiscal system of some effectiveness. They early fell upon the device of confirming and crowning the heir presumptive during the lifetime of his father; thus the prince was associated by anticipation in the royal power. This practice was known as *co-optation.* Hugh Capet did not originate the practice of primogeniture, but he did apply it. Primogeniture implied more than the succession of the eldest son. It prevented the division of the royal domain, so that the resources of the monarchy passed intact from one king to his successor. Fiefs of younger sons might be recalled at the will of the king. Thus the monarchy might cease to grow in power, but even under weak kings it was not reduced.

Until the twelfth century the crown had rarely any real authority

The royal domain and primogeniture

beyond the duchy of France. The main anxiety of Hugh Capet was to keep aloof from feudal wars. Robert the Pious (996–1031) blundered through a long reign and Henry I (1031–1060) was twice defeated by the Duke of Normandy. Roughly the royal domain of the first Capetians, from which they derived their revenues and which alone they could enfeoff to procure vassals, was the small block of territory known as the Ile de France. And during the weak reign of Philip I (1060–1108) even within this small territory the barons built castles in defiance of the royal authority. Louis VI (1108–37) by repeated campaigns reduced the baronage of the Ile de France and extended the royal jurisdiction into Berri, Nivernais, Bourbonnais, and Auvergne. He established the right of royal appeal; maintained the competence of the king over the clergy; modified the judicial duel. He insisted upon care in the despatch of public business, did away with many needless officials and enforced summonses.

Louis VI 8–37

The first Capetians were no more masters in their own households than they were masters in the royal domain. The chancellor of the court was always a churchman; the other offices, of seneschal, constable, chamberlain and butler, rapidly tended to become hereditary. Before the vigorous reforms of Louis VI a swarm of lesser court officials intruded themselves into the administration; even royal cooks and scullions affixed their seals to documents. The *villici* or stewards who managed the crown properties, and the vicars, who administered petty justice in them, also tended to become hereditary office-holders and so independent of the crown. Consequently under Henry I appeared a new official, the *provost*, who combined the administration of justice and the collecting of taxes in his circuit.

Church in France

The Capetians and the Church

The strongest support of the Capetians was the Church. "The Church throughout the most of northern and central France was the direct tenant of the crown in temporal matters. . . . The return every few years of the temporalia of these great sees to the royal control enabled the king to resist the encroachments of the neighboring vassals on the ecclesiastical fiefs; and . . . to use the whole force of a bishopric, in addition to his own proper resources, against any lay subjects whom he might wish to curb." Of the seventy-six bishoprics in France, the king could nominate incumbents in twenty-two. Hugh Capet controlled about fifty of the more than five hundred abbeys. No other grand vassal controlled nearly so much ecclesiastical power. Inevitably

the Capetians became strong supporters of the Church; they played the bishops and abbots against the lay nobility and rewarded them munificently for their loyalty.

The greatest danger to the monarchy in the eleventh and twelfth centuries was the power of the kings of England as dukes of Normandy. Border warfare with the Normans had been almost constant; in 1087 William the Conqueror was fatally wounded while attacking Mantes below Paris. His son William Rufus intermittently continued the conflict. Henry I of England built up a formidable coalition against Louis VI, who was beaten and almost captured at Brenneville. Probably the desperate struggle with the Normans caused Louis to try to strengthen himself in Aquitaine. On the death of Duke William of Aquitaine, Louis became guardian of his daughter, Eleanor, and arranged for her marriage to his son and thus added to the kingdom a very powerful duchy. Louis VII (1137–80) inherited a compact royal domain, with well administered finances and a royal court which had become an effective instrument of power. Fighting against the rebellious count of Champagne, Louis VII fired Vitry and thirteen hundred people were burned to death. In expiation he undertook the Second Crusade, and for three years wasted blood and treasure in the East to no purpose. In 1152 he was divorced from Eleanor. She married the young Henry of Anjou, son of Henry I's daughter, who had married the count of Anjou, who in 1154 became king of England, and Louis was faced with English dominions which extended from the Channel to the Pyrenees. Trouble between the monarchs threatened at once, when Louis prevented Henry from capturing Toulouse. The shocking murder of Thomas à Becket aided the French King, as many of the disaffected nobles of Brittany, Poitou and Guienne joined him against Henry. Henry II's three sons, who administered most of his continental provinces, also rebelled and allied themselves with Louis. The documents reveal that Louis had secretly subsidized not only the Angevin barons but the king's sons. This policy of intrigue was not heroic, but it was effective and thus kept Henry from consolidating his continental provinces.

From his very youth men felt that Philip Augustus (1180–1223) was destined to be a great king. It is told how when he was fifteen or sixteen years old, he was seen one day idly chewing a stem of grass. One of the barons said he would give a good horse to know what the King

The English domination in France

War with Henry II

Philip Augustus (1180–1223)

was thinking about. Another dared to ask the prince, whereupon Philip replied that he was wondering if God would ever restore France to the greatness she had enjoyed in the reign of Charlemagne. The
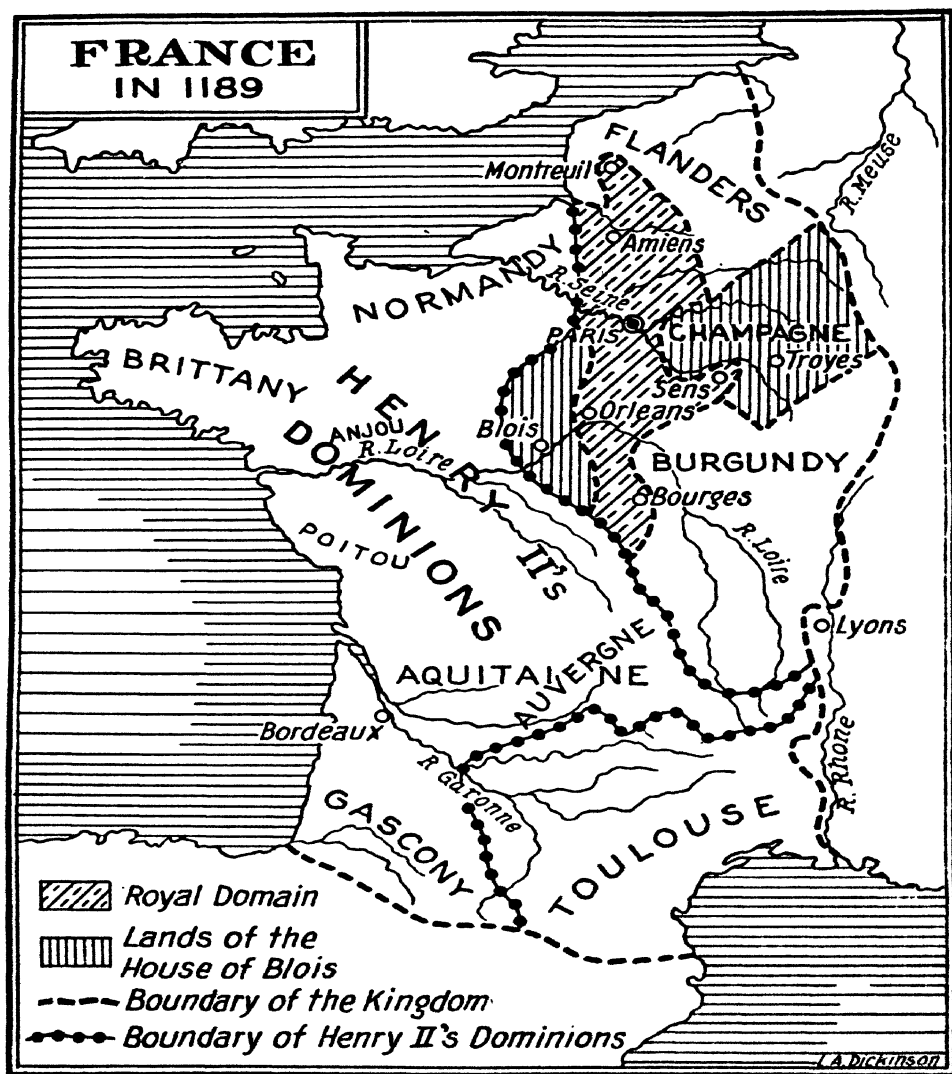
French as well as the German kings, were fascinated by the tradition of Charlemagne.

His reign was marked externally by enormous territorial expansion; *His reign* within, by a consolidation of the royal power. Philip II achieved these *important for* results through the slow and continuous development of institutions *both territorial* and the wise application of a policy established by his predecessors, *and adminis*-*expansion* happily aided by events abroad that rendered his opponents in Eng- *trative de-* land and Normandy, in Flanders, Germany and southern France, *velopment* peculiarly vulnerable to French attack. The length of his reign, nearly forty-four years, was also an advantage, for in the course of that time nearly every great fief in France changed possessor at least once, numbers of them several times, with obvious advantage to a king alert in asserting feudal prerogatives. Moreover, Philip's character was in his favor; strong, sagacious, calculating, patient, without principle, and unswayed by emotion, he never made a false move and never experienced a pang of either mercy or regret.

At the outset of his reign, though but a boy of fifteen, he had displayed these qualities of strength. His mother's house—that of Blois and Champagne—sought to govern him through his uncle, the Archbishop of Reims; but in the year of his coronation Philip married Isabella, daughter of the Count of Hainaut and niece of Philip of Flanders. The natural disinclination of the house of Blois to relinquish *Philip II and* its power to the Count of Flanders led to feudal war which was ended *Flanders* by the death of the queen just when the Blois faction was pressing for a decree of divorce at Rome. The death of the queen reversed the parties. The Count of Flanders claimed the estates of his niece, and war followed (1184–6). The Champagne party now supported the crown, and the conflict ended in the addition of Artois to the royal domain.

But as long as the king of France was overshadowed by English domination in the north and west his power to control the other great fiefs of France was slight.

Philip Augustus accordingly made every effort to reduce the continental power of England, employing diplomacy as well as war to this end. In 1187 Philip Augustus and Frederick Barbarossa concluded an *Anti-English* alliance to oppose their formidable vassals, the Angevins and the *alliance with* Guelfs. This division of feudal Europe into a Capetian-Hohenstaufen *the Hohen-* and an English-Guelf alliance lasted until the battle of Bouvines in *staufen* 1214 made it no longer necessary. *(1187)*

Philip II took advantage of the unfilial conduct of the sons of

Henry II, aiding Henry, Richard, Geoffrey and John against their father; and when Richard I became king, Philip II aided John against him. When John's rebellion collapsed, Richard crossed to Normandy to avenge himself upon the King of France. On July 5, 1194 Richard suddenly attacked Philip near Fréteval in the Orléanais; and though Philip barely escaped, he lost his plate, his baggage, the seal of the realm, and the registers of the treasury. A chronicler records that Richard pursued Philip so hotly that his horse went blind from the terrible exertion. This disaster, the most humiliating Philip II ever experienced, forced him to retire from Normandy, Maine and Touraine and beg a truce. In 1196 the war was resumed in Normandy, but was shifted to Flanders by a turn in imperial politics.

At the death of Henry VI (1197) the Guelf and Ghibelline factions in the Empire put up rival candidates. The Guelf candidate was Otto IV of Brunswick, son of Henry the Lion, and nephew of Richard. England declared for the Guelf candidate because of her commercial interests in northwest Germany, and because the Ghibelline choice was Philip of Swabia, younger brother of Richard's erstwhile jailer, the Emperor Henry VI. Flanders and Boulogne followed England. On the other hand, Philip II naturally recognized Philip of Swabia and

marched into Flanders, where he was unsuccessful. A year's truce followed. During the respite Richard built the remarkable Château Gâillard on the height overlooking the Seine just above Rouen, to guard the Norman capital from the French. The massive ruins of this structure yet testify to Richard's genius as an engineer. The erection of this fortress precipitated hostilities anew in 1198. Philip again attacked Normandy and again near Gisors narrowly escaped capture. Finally

the intervention of the pope in 1199 secured a five years' truce; and soon the death of Richard delivered Philip Augustus from the ablest foe he ever encountered.

On the accession of John, Philip II continued to promote division in the continental dominions of the English crown. The cynicism of Philip's policy at this time is remarkable. He had pitted all the sons of Henry II against him; he had played John against Richard; and now against John he played off John's nephew, Arthur of Brittany. He recognized Arthur in Brittany and Normandy and, under cover of supporting him, garrisoned Breton and Norman strongholds with French soldiery. Then Philip abandoned Arthur; and as the price of French

recognition he forced John to cede Evreux to France, renounce Richard's alliances in Germany and Flanders, marry his niece Blanche of Castile to the French Crown Prince Louis, perform liege homage, and pay two thousand marks sterling. For the next two years Philip watched the struggle between John and his nephew, until Arthur was defeated. Meanwhile John had divorced Isabelle of Gloucester and married Isabelle of Angoulême, although she was betrothed to his vassal, Hugh de Lusignan. In the failure to do justice, in the theory of feudal law, the king had original jurisdiction over rear-vassals; and Hugh appealed to Philip as John's overlord for Poitou. This prerogative of the king was revived under Louis VI; but neither Louis VI nor Louis VII had ever attempted to coerce a grand vassal. It remained for Philip to do this, seizing upon Hugh's appeal as a legal warrant for his conduct. He cited John as his liegeman for Poitou to appear in Paris prepared to answer the charge against him. John could either respond and be declared guilty, or absent himself and suffer the penalty. He chose the latter alternative. In 1204, Philip II confiscated Normandy, Anjou, Maine and Touraine. While technically in compliance with feudal law, practically the act of Philip II cut feudalism at the root. It doubled the territory of the French royal domain and enormously enlarged the power and revenues of the king. The effects of the loss of Normandy upon England were as real. The greatest effect was not the territorial loss, but the fact that "the long existing confusion between the duties of the barons as English and as Norman feudatories ceased." *English loss of Normandy and the Angevin fiefs (1204)*

During the next ten years Philip strengthened the royal power in his new acquisitions and prepared for the inevitable English effort to recover them. England, Germany and Flanders formed a great anti-French coalition. At the battle of Bouvines (July 27, 1214), Philip II defeated Otto IV; and John's invasion of the Loire was unsuccessful. The French retained Normandy and the Angevin fiefs. *Battle of Bouvines (1214)*

The great administrative development of the French monarchy under Philip Augustus was quite as important as his victories. Louis VI, as we have seen, found that the tendency of the four great offices of the royal household—seneschal, butler, chamberlain and constable —to become hereditary was dangerous to the monarchy. Hence Philip II practically suppressed the seneschalship, as the most dangerous office, and filled the others with men of lower birth and without influential feudal attachments. The king's chief minister, if such he *Administrative changes* *Household of the King*

FRANCE
AT THE CLOSE OF THE REIGN
OF PHILIP AUGUSTUS

Royal Domain at Accession of Philip
Acquired during his Reign from the Plantagenets
Acquired during his reign from other Vassals
Plantaganet Lands (1223)
Other Vassal Lands
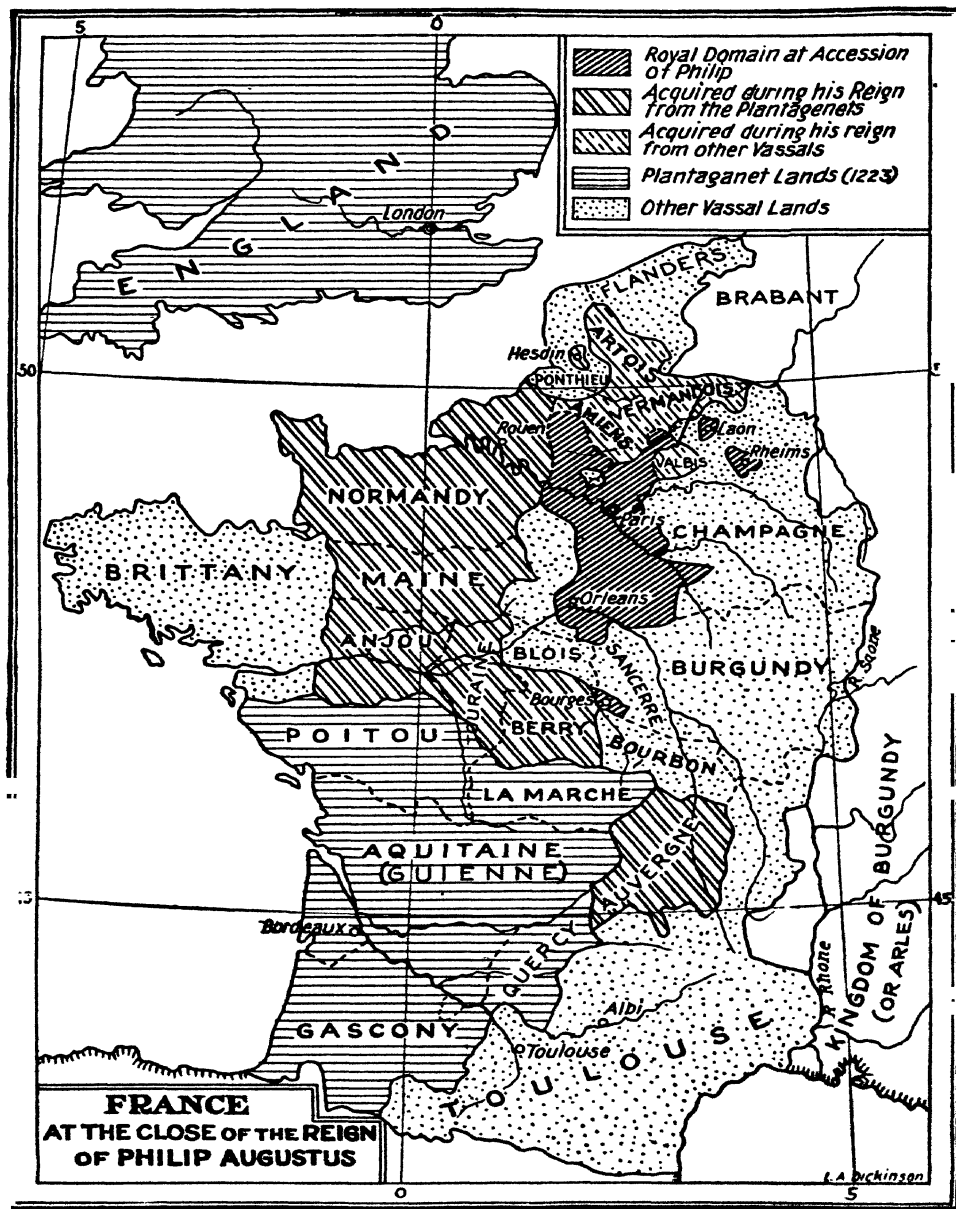
may be called, was Brother Walter the Hospitaler, whose activity extended to all departments of the government, but was most manifest as vice-chancellor, military commander, and judge—a good example of the lack of differentiation in the central administrative offices.

Around these chief officials was a group of counsellors, lay and clerical, drawn from the king's most faithful adherents. Without formal organization as a privy council, they were practically a king's council. On occasions of special moment Philip Augustus enlarged this *King's* group by summoning nobles and bishops of the realm. The summons *council* expressed the nature of the business and the time and place of meeting; the character and rank of those summoned depended upon the nature of the business. This body, variously called a *concilium*, a *colloquium*, a *curia regis*, might consider everything outside the ordinary routine and administration dealt with by the palace officials. It was thus a deliberative body, a legislative body which considered the royal ordinances, and a high court, all in one. It was never, however, a coordinate branch of the government. Its function was merely advisory and nothing in the law compelled the king to accept its advice. The king was the seat of authority, executive, legislative, judicial. This does not mean, however, that he was an absolute monarch. The contractual nature of feudal government and the mutual relations subsisting between lord and vassal limited his powers. This assembly was employed most frequently as the royal judicial court—the *curia regis*. But under Philip II the feudal element in this body was of decreasing importance. As the crown became stronger and as its jurisdiction extended, the number of cases increased, calling for the advice of those more learned in the law than fighting barons. Hence under Philip II for the first time we find technically trained legists in the *curia regis*. Before his reign ended, the technical competence of the royal court, reinforced by the king's superior military power, had made it prevail far beyond the territory of the royal domain. Every great feudatory acknowledged its jurisdiction. This extension was largely accomplished through the system of "inquests," which were really an extension of the *curia regis* to the local scene. But the inquest was not a local court. *Inquests* It merely ascertained the facts—the action based on those facts was determined by the king and his counsellors. This practice greatly increased the royal authority and paved the way for the wide recognition of the parlement of Paris under St. Louis.

Etablish-
ment of
bailiffs

Philip Augustus radically reformed local administration by instituting the bailiffs. A number of contiguous *prévôtés* were grouped into a bailiwick, and a bailiff was appointed therein to oversee the provosts. The bailiff was therefore an administrative, judicial, fiscal and military superior of the provosts. But he was paid a salary out of the royal treasury instead of being paid, like the provosts, from the fees of his office. Consequently his temptation to graft was somewhat decreased. He was appointed by the *conseil du roi* or king's council and was responsible to it under the crown. As the royal domain expanded, Philip II extended the system of bailiffs, who everywhere made for efficiency and the centralization of administration.

Albigensian
Crusade

The most important event of Philip II's reign by which the French crown profited with no effort on its part, was the Albigensian Crusade. The destruction of the independence of the great county of Toulouse and its satellite fiefs made possible under Louis IX the extension of the royal power over the south. Ever since the accession of the Capetians the southern provinces had had little relation with the rest of France. Guienne and Gascony pertained to England. Authority in the Midi was divided between the house of Barcelona and the house of Saint-Gilles. The former was represented by the king of Aragon, a foreign prince who possessed the county of Montpellier, and by a cadet branch established in the county of Provence. The latter governed the rich county of Toulouse and its attendant fiefs, among them Narbonne, the Albigeois, Nîmes, Béziers and Carcassonne. This political independence of the South was accentuated by the sharp difference in culture that existed between the north and the south of France. In the sunny land of Languedoc and Provence the ancient Latin heritage had been preserved with greater purity than anywhere else in Europe. The only serious misfortune that had befallen the country was the Arabic domination of the lower Rhone region between 888 and 972. But recovery from Saracen ravages had been speedy; and a talented people, a marvelous climate, a rich and fertile land, accessibility to the commerce of the Mediterranean, and intelligent and just rulers had combined to produce a superior civilization in the south of France. In Provence the earliest vernacular literature made its appearance in the songs of troubadours and trouvères. The princes and people of Provence were urbane and tolerant. The Jews were not persecuted, nor were men harassed for their religious beliefs.

Here flourished two sects opposed to the Catholic orthodoxy established everywhere in Europe, the Waldensians and the Catharists. In *Waldensian* the twelfth century a merchant of Lyons, one Peter Waldo, became *and Catharist heresies* imbued with the ancient ideal of apostolic poverty and began to preach against the riches, luxury, worldly pride and power of the high clergy. He attacked the Church for its indifference to social needs, its gross wealth, its hypocrisy, its complex ritual celebrated in a dead language. Peter Waldo's teachings struck a sympathetic chord in the hearts of the lower classes of Provence and Languedoc, especially among the working classes, and popular preachers soon cropped up everywhere, haranguing the populace in the vernacular and bringing disdain upon the Church and the clergy. In 1173 Peter Waldo renounced his prop- *Waldensian* erty, caused the Scriptures to be translated into the popular tongue by *doctrines* two ecclesiastics, and began traveling through the country to preach God's forgiveness to the people. He won many followers, who adopted the life on earth of the apostles, traveling about in simple costume, wearing sandals instead of shoes, and preaching the gospel to every creature. In 1178 his doctrine was declared heretical. By this time it had spread over the valley of the Rhone, and even into Lombardy, and had a large following in the towns, especially among the working classes.

Catharist teachings were of remote oriental origin and harked back to the formidable Manichæan belief that had so tried the Church in the fourth and fifth centuries. Its westward progress has been traced across Asia Minor into the Balkan peninsula, where it gained a following among the Hellenized Slavs and the Bulgarians in the ninth century and was known as the Bogomil heresy. From the Bal- *The Cath-* kans the teachings spread through Dalmatia, Bosnia, and the Adriatic *arists* ports into Italy. In the eleventh century we find the sect in many scattered groups in Lombardy, eastern and central France, the Rhinelands and Flanders, where the votaries were mostly drawn from the lower classes. The teachings seem to have been first carried across the Alps by Italian students attending the schools in France, especially those of Reims, Paris, Orléans and Chartres, or by Lombard merchants going to the Champagne fairs and Flanders. Ideas, as well as goods, follow trade-routes.

In Provence and lower Languedoc Catharism was espoused by many of the upper class and by great masses of the population. Montpellier,

Narbonne, Toulouse, Marseilles, Agen and Montauban were dense centers of these sectaries. In the diocese of Albi they were so numerous that the heresy became widely known as Albigensianism. The number of these dissidents before the Albigensian Crusade is much debated. The Church exaggerated the number in order to justify its work of proscription, while adversaries of the ecclesiastical policy perhaps have underestimated the number in order to make the Church's proscription and persecution seem more odious. Certainly the Church made religious toleration an equal crime with heresy and warred against Waldensians, Catharists, Jews, and every feudal noble who was tolerant of new and dissident religious ideas within his principality.

Catharist teachings

Unlike Waldensianism, which quarreled with the Church's social and economic practices, but accepted its theology, Catharism was a positive religious belief, founded upon principles that were radically hostile to both the doctrines and the practices of the Church and subversive of them. It was dualistic, not monotheistic; it taught that there was a God of good and a God of evil. Satan was not a fallen angel, but an evil deity. Satan obviously was in command of this material world; hence it followed that everything spiritual was divine, and that everything material was evil. To eat meat was to make oneself "impure." The Greek word *catharos* (pure) was the maxim of the sect and gave it its name Catharism. The Catharists disbelieved in marriage because it is based upon a physical relation, and thus permitted Catholics to say that they attacked the institution of the family. The Catharists rejected the sacrament and the doctrine of transubstantiation. This, of course, was tantamount to rejection of the whole process of divine atonement and human salvation through Christ. The Catharists denied the existence of hell and believed that all men would ultimately be saved, some sooner, others later, by growth in "perfection." The perfectibility of the human race, not the universal depravity of mankind, was a cardinal tenet. Jesus was not the Son of God, nor the Virgin the Mother of God. Instead Jesus and Mary were first among the angels. The Holy Spirit was the chief of "celestial intelligences." This doctrine, of course, denied the Trinity. Incarnation, atonement, resurrection and ascension were all eliminated. At the resurrection not the bodies, but only the spirits of men would be raised up from the dead.

The alarm of the Roman Church at the widespread diffusion of

this heresy was very great. Neither admonition nor ecclesiastical censure was effective among a population that denied the fundamental authority and teachings of the Church, and the clergy got no support from the feudality of Languedoc and Provence, some of whom were openly or secretly advocates of heresy, and many more of whom at least believed in religious toleration. Papal legates were impotent to strengthen the influence of the bishops and dissuade the populace from toleration of the sects. About the end of the twelfth century the most civilized portion of Europe, the Mediterranean region, began to slip from the domination of the clergy.

At last, after forty years of persuasian had failed, Pope Innocent III resolved to suppress the heretics by force. In 1208 he called for a crusade to extirpate the Catharists. The French baronage of the north responded eagerly. The Duke of Burgundy, the counts of Montfort, Nevers, Auxerre and Saint-Pol, and others swarmed into the Midi with their feudal armies, bent upon plunder and the acquisition of new territories.

Philip Augustus himself took no part in the expedition against the Albigensians, and there is some evidence that he disapproved of the participation of his son Louis in it. The truth is that he resented the papal interference in France and the assumption of papal right to dispose of French fiefs. If and when the Count of Toulouse were decreed to be a heretic, then the penalty for heresy, he said, was to be enforced by the secular arm, but the pope had no right to dispose of the county of Toulouse, which was a fief of the crown of France.

In 1209 the invaders captured Béziers and massacred its inhab- itants; Carcassonne succumbed to siege. The crusaders elected the notorious Simon de Montfort their commander, and the pope decreed him to be the new ruler of the conquered territory. The war of religion became a war of conquest waged not only against heretics, but against all the feudal princes of the south. Raymond VI, the great Count of Toulouse, was beaten at Muret (September 1213), and fled to the protection of the English in Gascony, while the crusaders overran his lands. In 1215 Innocent III called the Lateran Council. It declared Raymond VI a heretic and deprived him of his estates. It gave the county of Toulouse, the duchy of Narbonne, and the viscounties of Béziers and Carcassonne to Simon de Montfort, who divided the lands as fiefs among his vassals. Raymond VI's son was permitted to keep

the marquisate of Provence and parts of the county of Toulouse. The county Venaissin and the city of Avignon were appropriated by the papacy. Philip Augustus had held himself aloof from the war, but he could not resist the papal authority and the decrees of the Lateran Council. Accordingly he received the homage of Simon de Montfort as count of Toulouse. Aggravated by Simon de Montfort's haughty and violent character, strife soon broke out among the invaders. Raymond VI and his son reappeared in Provence, where the loyal population trooped to his colors. They recovered Béziers and Toulouse in 1217, and all the Languedoc rose in insurrection. Simon de Montfort, hastily recalled, was killed, and after his death the crusaders retreated. Philip II refused to aid Simon's son, Amaury de Montfort, as he had refused to support the father. When Raymond VI died in 1222, he had the consolation of leaving his son the greater portion of his estates, which he had recovered. Amaury de Montfort, at the end of his resources, offered to yield to the French king all the rights that his father and he had acquired from the Lateran Council. But Philip Augustus hesitated to accept so compromising an engagement—he had no wish to become embroiled with the Holy See—and died before any arrangement was effected.

Effects of the crusade

Neither by character nor by circumstance was Louis VIII (1223–6) able to continue his father's prudent non-intervention in the south. Louis VIII unfortunately instituted the *appanage,* revertible fiefs which he gave to his younger sons. This practice not only strengthened feudalism but created a nobility who were themselves of royal blood and uncommonly willing to struggle with the king himself for power. He accepted the proffer of Amaury de Montfort, who ceded to him all the rights that the Church had conferred upon him; and began a second war for conquest of the Midi. Although outwardly Raymond VII's position might have seemed strong, actually his authority had been seriously shattered; there had been appalling destruction of life and property; thousands had been driven into exile; commerce, industry, and agriculture had been destroyed; the land was filled with new invaders, who had occupied the soil. Louis VIII captured Avignon, Nîmes and Carcassonne, and received the homage of Raymond. His sudden death in 1226 again gave a lease of life to the house of Toulouse. But in 1228 by the Treaty of Meaux, Raymond VII made his peace with the Church and surrendered most of his territorial pos-

French annexation

sessions to the crown of France, retaining only a portion of his ancestral inheritance. The cession included almost all the lands between the eastern end of the Pyrnees and the Rhone. The count retained the County of Toulouse, and some small fiefs; but even this possession was a species of tenure in usufruct, for a special article of the treaty pro-

FRANCE IN 1270

J A Dickinson
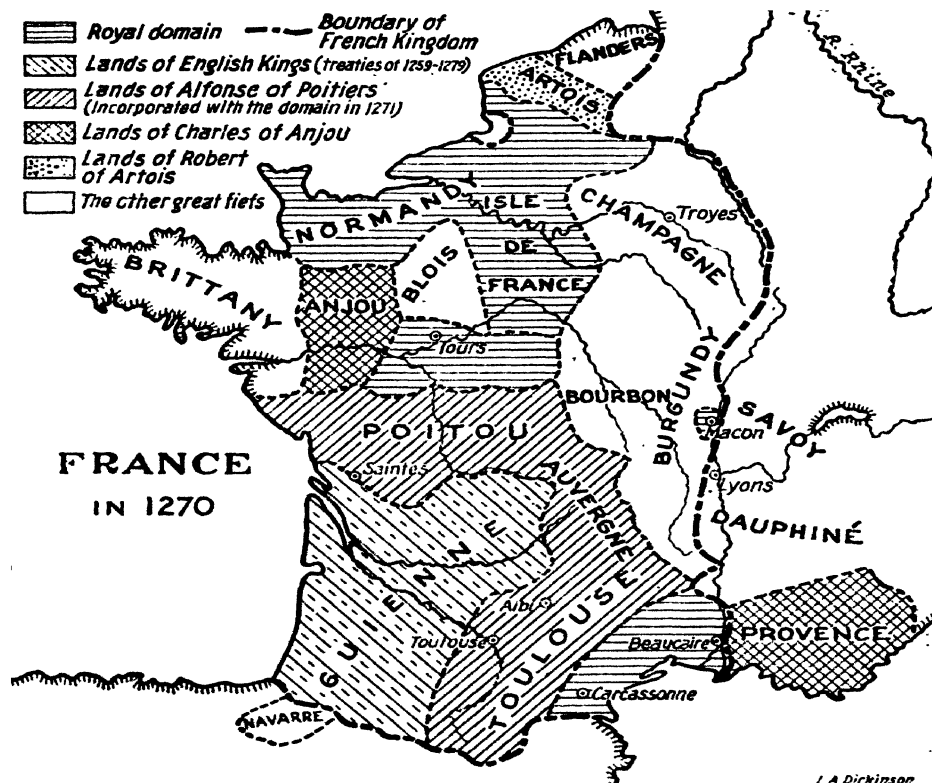
vided that Raymond VII's daughter Jeanne was to marry a brother of the French King, that at the death of the Count of Toulouse his territories were to revert to his daughter (or rather her husband), and finally that if these two died without issue, the entire ancient heritage of the house of Toulouse should fall to the French crown.

The king's brother who married the heiress of the Midi was Alphonse de Poitiers, who throughout his life was the ablest minister, confidant and friend of Louis IX and almost the king's other self in

intelligence, efficiency and probity. His justice and integrity of character remedied the disasters that the county had suffered and slowly promoted the assimilation of the provinces. Thus, as Philip Augustus had doubled the area of the French monarchy in the north and acquired the Channel coast, so Louis IX doubled the area of the French crown in the south and reached the Mediterranean.

The history of the Albigensian Crusade has carried us deep into the reign of Louis IX. Let us view it from the beginning. The progress of the French monarchy was not impaired by the death of Louis VIII, *Minority of* although Louis IX was a child of six at the time. The regent of the *Louis IX* infant Louis IX was his mother, Blanche of Castile, remarkable for her strength of will and piety. For ten years Blanche governed France, and educated her son as few monarchs have been in the theory and practice of government. He is called St. Louis, for the son surpassed even his mother in grace and Christian piety.

The epoch of the regency was a long struggle with rebellious barons, who resented the growing power of the monarchy and took advantage of the king's minority to revolt against the crown. Soon after the *Baronial* coronation a plot was organized to seize the queen-mother and sepa-*revolts* rate her from her son. But the French towns which had received their charters of privilege from the crown, whose militia Philip II had fostered and used to advantage in the great victory at Bouvines in 1214, hated and feared the baronage and were attached to the crown. When Queen Blanche sent word to Paris that the king could not come to his "good town" because the great barons threatened the road, the citizens lined the road from Montlhéry to Paris with their militia. This devotion of the Parisians made a deep impression upon Louis IX and he always had a peculiar love for Paris and its people.

Headed by the duke of Burgundy and the counts of Brittany, Champagne and La Marche and backed by Henry III of England, who sent forces in support of the movement into Brittany, the barons again in 1229 formed a league to arrest the growing power of the monarchy. Once more the conspiracy was foiled. The termination of the regency in 1236 afforded a third pretext for revolt, and again the rebellion was crushed.

Desultory war, punctuated by ineffective truces, continued between France and England until 1259, when Henry III renounced all claim to Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Touraine and Poitou, but was con-

firmed in possession of Guienne, Gascony, Limousin, Quercy and Péri-   *Peace with*
gord on condition of doing homage to the King of France and swear-   *England*
ing never again to support any revolt of French vassals against their   *(1259)*
sovereign. At the same time disputed territorial claims between France
and Aragon, arising out of the Albigensian Crusade, were also ad-
justed. France gave up all pretension to the county of Barcelona in re-
turn for the renunciation of Spanish claims in Foix and Languedoc.
The Seventh Crusade was the one disastrous event of St. Louis's   *Seventh*
reign. Able and cautious though he was, his zeal carried him away. His   *Crusade*
return, though clouded by defeat and captivity in the East, was timely   *(1248–54)*
for France. Blanche had died in 1252, and Henry III was again threat-
ening.

The reign of Louis IX was remarkable for improvements in the   *Develop-*
internal administration, law-courts and judicial procedure. Most of   *ments in ad-*
these changes were developments of preceding reforms and indicate   *ministration*
the continuity of French monarchical institutions. St. Louis abolished
private war and the judicial duel, and so improved the administration
of justice that the golden age of Charlemagne seemed to have returned.
Seneschals were set over the newly acquired provinces to enforce the
administration of bailiffs; and provosts and special commissioners (*en-
quêteurs*) peered into court proceedings and checked and audited pub-
lic accounts. Taxes were carefully spread and honestly collected. The
appellate jurisdiction of the crown was greatly extended with the
effect of both destroying ancient local abuses and introducing a growing
uniformity of legislation and administration. The royal ordinances
were later collected into a famous code of French law, known as the
Établissements de Saint Louis, one of the great medieval sources of
French jurisprudence. In this reign the *curia regis* developed into a
court from which all former feudal elements were extended, and
henceforward was called the *parlement de Paris;* for the word *parle-
ment* in French means a judicial court, not a legislative body, as in   *Prosperity*
England.   *of France*

The last years of Louis IX's reign, from the time of his return from
the Holy Land, in 1254, to his death in 1270, were wonderfully
peaceful. Nothing marred the prosperity of the kingdom. French po-
litical history becomes little but the register of the King's annual jour-
neys from province to province and town to town in vigilant enforce-
ment of his enlightened administration, and long accounts of the royal

charity. The development of ecclesiastical and civil architecture attests the material wealth and the spirit of the reign. It was the greatest period of Gothic architecture, and is marked by the building of the cathedrals of Amiens, Bourges and Beauvais. Louis himself built the exquisite Sainte-Chapelle as a reliquary for the crown of thorns, and countless abbeys, convents, hospitals and colleges, among them the Sorbonne for the University of Paris. The king's affectionate biographer, the Sieur de Joinville, who accompanied him on the ill-fated crusade on which he died and whose *Life of St. Louis* is a perfect tribute to an almost perfect man, picturesquely wrote of his benefactions: "As the transcriber illuminates the book which he is writing with gold and azure, so the king illuminated his realm with the fine abbeys which he built, with *maisons-dieu* and houses for the friars preacher, the Franciscans, the Carthusians, and many other religious orders."

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CHAPTER XII

GERMANY AND ITALY (887–1056)

THE physical geography of France helped in the unification of fairly diversified peoples. North Germany, however, is a plain; south Germany is mountainous. The rivers of the north flow into the North Sea or the Baltic; the rivers in the south flow east or west. Thus the configuration of the country helped to perpetuate *The Divi-* the feudal divisions in which we find the country divided at the be- *sions of* ginning of the tenth century. The six "nations" of Germany spoke *Germany* variants of essentially the same language and had much the same institutions. The Franks, the Swabians, the Bavarians and the Saxons were ruled by their own tribal dukes. Thuringia was a dependency of Saxony, and Frisia had no firm political organization. Between 887 and 1056 the history of these peoples is marked by the growth of feudalism and the founding of the feudal kingdom of Germany, particularly under the Saxon Kings Henry I and Otto I and the Salian Kings Conrad II and Henry III.

The Carolingian Arnulf (887–99) defeated the Norsemen in 891 *The Caro-* and relieved the kingdom from further danger of Norse invasion. He *lingian,* also had to fight against the Slavs to the east. Most unfortunate of all, *Arnulf* however, was Arnulf's desire to become emperor. Italy was wracked by the struggle of petty princes for the crown; the papacy had become a local power and Pope Formosus appealed to Arnulf to help him in his effort to defend the papal lands from the violent Italian nobles. In 895 Arnulf crossed the Alps; "his warlike progress is the first in the list of ominous descents of German kings on Rome." Though to prevent his becoming too seriously compromised by the pope, Arnulf declared he was intervening in behalf of Berenger of Friuli, Arnulf's invasion set an unhappy precedent. The power of the German kings was so far from Italy that only during their actual presence there at the head of armies could they enforce any authority. The papacy always opposed any strong political power in Italy and the nobles threw off their enforced allegiance at the earliest opportunity. As the towns,

particularly in Lombardy, grew in power, they too resisted the Germans. The constant necessity for reasserting imperial power in Italy prevented the emperors from establishing an effective government in Germany. By attempting to straddle the Alps the German emperors ultimately were unable to build a unified kingdom in either Italy or Germany. Arnulf conquered Rome, was crowned emperor by Formosus in 896 and almost immediately returned to Germany. Formosus died shortly thereafter and factional spirit was so venomous that Pope Stephen VI had his body disinterred. Clad in full pontifical robes, the corpse of Formosus was tried before a packed synod of Roman clergy for violation of the canon law. Formosus was declared guilty; his corpse was stripped of its robes; the three fingers of the right hand, which had conferred the papal blessing, were cut off; and the body was thrown in the Tiber. On his return to Germany, Arnulf found that the Slavs had fallen apart and ceased to menace the kingdom. In their place as enemies of the kingdom were the Magyars. They were remote kindred of the Avars and of the Huns and seem to have drifted into southern Russia and thence up the Danube. There they occupied the great plains of the Theiss and Maros rivers, and during the tenth century they harassed Germany and northern Italy as the Norsemen had harassed France in the ninth century. In the year of Arnulf's death, 899, they first invaded northern Italy.

Ludwig the Child

The reign of Ludwig the Child (899–911) was a ceaseless struggle against them. In 900 the Magyars conquered the Byzantine territory between the Drave and the Save rivers, ravaged Moravia and attacked the Bavarian border. Successive invasions of north Italy forced the towns to strengthen their fortifications and the proprietors to build castles. With the Lombard plain thus partially closed to them, the Magyars redoubled their attacks upon Germany. Like the Norsemen they discovered that the monasteries in particular were rich in precious plate and jewels. In 908 and 910 the Magyars ravaged Bavaria, Swabia and even Lorraine.

Ludwig, busy enough with the Magyars, also tried ineffectively to suppress the wars of the nobles. Though Charlemagne had crushed Tassilo of Bavaria and Widukind of Saxony, German tribal sentiment was very strong; the tribal dukes were called "stem" dukes as each of the tribes was considered a "stem" of the great German racial trunk. These "stem" dukes were naturally influenced by feudalism so that the

German duchies were both tribal and feudal political forms. The German bishops were also a separatist influence. They were rich in land; they gained control of the crown in 887 and struggled with the dukes for power. At the death of Ludwig in 911, the German crown became elective. Thereafter the archbishops of Mainz and Cologne and sometimes other bishops, and the "stem" dukes elected the kings. Thus the stability of an hereditary monarchy was denied Germany; the hostility of the dukes and clergy was constantly provoked; and Germany was kept a kind of feudal and federal monarchy.

Conrad I (911–18), supported by the hierarchy, attempted to *Conrad I* handle the dukes as summarily as had Charlemagne, and "although he succeeded in making the royal authority felt in all directions, he succeeded also in making it thoroughly hated, and at the end of his life the stems were more active, more conscious of their identity, and less inclined to bear the aggressions of a royal house than ever." In Italy the Saracens, with little resistance since 870, had gradually overrun Beneventum and Capua from their fortified position on the Garigliano river. In their emergency the dukes of Beneventum and Capua joined forces with the duke of Naples, the Byzantine Emperor Leo and with Pope John X. In 916 the Saracens were defeated and lost their power on the mainland; and the Byzantines gained control of Apulia and Calabria.

The story goes that Henry I of Saxony (919–36) was found hawk- *Henry I,* ing by the messengers who came to tell him he had been elected *the Fowler* king; and he is since known as Henry the Fowler. A descendant of the great Saxon chieftain, Widukind, Henry had already distinguished himself against the Slavs. From the first he followed his own course. He refused to be crowned by the archbishop of Mainz, in order not to compromise himself with the Church, and set about establishing some kind of internal unity in a Germany which was in danger of falling apart into its several duchies. Henry relied for his military strength upon Saxony, the largest of the duchies and noted for the military qualities of its people. Provided the dukes recognized his superior justice, Henry gave them great liberty. He insisted upon controlling appointments to bishoprics, excepting in Bavaria. Bavaria had on one side Swabia, a jealous rival; on the other side were the Hungarians. As a word from him might have destroyed Bavaria, once his kingship was recognized by the Bavarians, Henry did not insist too strongly

upon his control over the Bavarian church. He never, however, hesitated to use force to assert his authority over an obstinate duke.

By paying tribute to the Hungarians in 924, Henry obtained a respite of nine years from their attacks, and in the interval consummated a remarkable series of military reforms. Throughout Thuringia and eastern Saxony he built *Burgwärde*. These were not castles but communities, such as cloisters, episcopal centers or great manor houses, protected by palisades of logs built entirely about them. These places attracted commerce, and new walled communities arose in addition to the old episcopal seats established by Charlemagne. In them Henry placed permanent garrisons of Saxons. One ninth of all Saxons of military age were required each year to live in the *Burgwärde* and to serve against the Wends beyond the Elbe. In 929 the Saxons stormed the Wendish towns of Branibor (Germanized into Brandenburg) and Meissen. From the territory surrounding these two towns Henry made two new marks; and here begins the history of the margraviate of Brandenburg. On the expiration of the truce with the Magyars in 933, Henry defeated them near Merseburg on the Unstrutt river. In 934 he took from the Danes the ancient territory of Charlemagne between the Schlei and Eider rivers, established it as the Dane Mark, colonized it with Germans and so assured to Germany the control of the mouth of the Elbe. Thus before his death in 936 Henry had begun the colonization of the Germans to the east which finally added a new East Germany to the old feudal Germany. And though he never truly unified the realm, he at least prevented it from breaking into its feudal parts.

His son, Otto the Great (936–73) tried to make out of the duchies a kingdom which was not dependent solely on Saxony for its efficiency. Henry I had refused to be crowned. Otto conciliated the Church by having himself crowned; and by choosing Aachen as the place of coronation he indicated that he considered himself the successor of the Frank kings. At the coronation festival the dukes of Franconia, Swabia, Bavaria and Lorraine served as chamberlain, seneschal, cupbearer and marshal. As nobility in feudalism was fundamentally not of blood but of service, Otto indicated through this honorable service of the dukes that he expected the service and fealty of all Germany, rather than of Saxony alone. He suppressed revolts in Franconia, Lorraine and Bavaria and took part of the rebels' land for the crown and

The Burg-wärde and expansion to the East

Otto the Great

gave part to the local bishops. For Otto saw in the Church an instrument of government against the nobles. "The strength of the bishops meant the weakness of the nobles and the break-up of tribal bonds. . . . The State required agents who would not found formidable families and create hereditary interests. Such agents were alone to be found within the Church." The great error of Otto I was the partition of Saxony. He retained Westphalia alone as crown land; to Hermann Billung he gave the rest of Saxony and the title of duke. The Billunger dukes rapidly made themselves so formidable that in the next century they were a very serious obstacle to the unification of Germany.

The bitter factional disputes continued in Italy. In 951 Otto first invaded Italy, defeated the army of Berenger, a rebellious noble, and married Adelheid, the widow of his rival. In 954 the pope again called upon Otto for aid against Berenger. At the moment Otto was faced with the revolts of his son Liudolf in Swabia, of Conrad of Upper Lorraine and of Archbishop Frederick of Mainz. The revolted nobles each had local opposition and were rapidly put down. When the archbishop of Mainz died, Otto installed in the see his natural son William. Feudal opposition to Otto now came to an end. He divided Lorraine into two parts; his loyal and able brother Bruno, Archbishop of Cologne, was given the upper part of the duchy, and so feudalized had the Church become that there seemed nothing incongruous in a bishop's becoming a duke. Lower Lorraine ceased gradually to be so called, and the counties of Hainaut and Brabant were slowly formed out of it. During these rebellions the Hungarians had invaded Germany, going as far across Bavaria as Augsburg. In 955 Otto defeated them so terribly at the battle of the Lechfeld that they never again menaced Germany. In 961 Otto had his seven-year-old son crowned as co-king and his successor and placed the lad under the guardianship of his brothers the Archbishops of Cologne and Mainz. He entrusted the North Mark to Hermann Billung; enlarged the East Mark by adding to it the marks of Verona and Aquileia, from Italian territory, and gave it to the margrave Burkhard, under Bavarian suzerainty. *Otto's victories over the nobles and the Hungarians*

After thus trying to secure himself in Germany, Otto set out for Rome. In 962 in the place where Charlemagne had stood, Pope John XII crowned him Roman emperor. But the Roman populace did not hail his coronation as it had hailed Charlemagne's, for it meant the reduction of their petty principality to German supervision. Moreover, *Otto's coronation and wars in Italy*

the coronation meant a continuation of the efforts of the German kings to control both sides of the Alps. Otto was determined to impress his will upon the pope as had Charlemagne. Before the coronation the pope, in return for Otto's assistance against Berenger, had agreed readily enough to Otto's terms. Otto had renewed the donations of Pepin and Charlemagne and had agreed that the papal elections should be canonical; but he had insisted that the pope might not be consecrated until he had sworn fealty to him. But no sooner was Otto away from Rome, besieging Berenger's last fortresses in the north of Italy, than John XII began intriguing with the Byzantine Emperor and even with the Hungarians and Saracens. Otto returned to Rome; John fled at his approach; and Otto called a synod which showed in its composition the feudalization of the Church and the curious intimacy between secular and spiritual rulers. It was made up of bishops, cardinals, Roman nobles and captains of the city militia, and German dukes and counts. This body deposed John XII as the civil and episcopal head of the Roman state and as head of the Latin Church; deprived the Romans of the future right to papal elections; designated an imperial prefect to rule the city and appointed a clerk to be pope as Leo VIII. Twice the Romans rose in revolt against this humiliation, and expelled Leo VIII; and twice Otto was forced to subdue them.

Otto spent the next years fighting in Lower Italy. Nicephorus Phokas had refused to acknowledge Otto's title as emperor, and had permitted Berenger's sons and other insurgent Italians to find refuge in Constantinople. Repulsed in his military efforts, Otto was also unable to persuade Nicephorus to marry his step-daughter Theophano to Otto's son. Zimisces, successor to Nicephorus, permitted the marriage to take place, but Otto was unable to acquire Lower Italy as the dower of Theophano. In 973 Otto returned to Germany. There before his death he received the fealty of the German dukes and the homage of Polish, Bohemian, Magyar, Bulgarian and even Russian lords. Otto I is with justice called great. His empire was not so vast and his government not so centralized and his abilities not so outstanding as Charlemagne's. His power was largely derived from Saxony alone; and feudalism was stronger in his day than in Charlemagne's, and feudal lords could not be so readily coerced. But he gave some kind of unity to a broken Europe, nevertheless, and proved himself a vigorous and effective sovereign.

Eighteen years old when he ascended the throne, Otto II (973–83) *Otto II* found almost the whole of southern Germany under the control of Bavaria. The Duke of Bavaria rebelled almost at once; the loyalty of the bishops, however, and of the Saxons supported him, and the rebellion shortly collapsed. Otto followed his father's policy of breaking up the larger feudal units and reduced very considerably the size of Bavaria. In 978 Lothair of France made a madcap expedition into Lorraine and forced Otto to flee from Aachen. Otto's counter invasion of France was a failure and in 980 peace was declared between the two monarchs. Otto then crossed the Alps to Italy and was crowned emperor at Rome, where Crescentius, a Roman noble, had seized the city of Rome, and had ruled with an uncommon lack of disorder. But in the south of Italy the Saracens, profiting by a war of the feudal nobles against the Byzantines, had invaded from Sicily. Otto advanced southward, and was disastrously defeated in Calabria. At the same time, in Germany, the Slavs of the Elbe rebelled, slew or expelled all the Christian clergy and settlers and reverted to paganism. Otto II died in Rome in 983 while he was attempting to organize another campaign against the Saracens.

Otto III (983–1002) had been educated by the greatest scholar *Otto III* of the day, Gerbert of Aurillac, afterwards Pope Sylvester II. He was taught Latin and Greek and was called, for his learning, *Stupor mundi*—the wonder of the world. His mother Theophano was regent until 996, when Otto III, sixteen years old, reached his majority. He was a son of the imperial houses of both East and West and dreamed of making Rome the center of another world empire. He built himself a palace on the Aventine, affected Roman dress, sneered at German speech and manners and talked of himself as men spoke of Justinian and Constantine. In 985 Crescentius banished Pope John XV. The pope appealed to Otto III, who marched into Italy, overawed Crescentius and on the death of John XV caused his chaplain Bruno to be elected as Pope Gregory V, the first German pope, who was forced by Crescentius to flee from Rome as soon as Otto III was out of Italy. Otto returned and captured Rome. The antipope had his eyes burned out, his hands and tongue cut off, and was then left to die in a dungeon. Crescentius, too, suffered a terrible death. When Gregory V died Otto had his former tutor, Gerbert, made pope as Sylvester II. But the Romans would none of Sylvester either, and Otto again was

forced to come to the defense of the pope. This time he was himself besieged in his palace, driven out of Rome; and "the monarch who had dreamed of restoring the universal empire of the Romans found himself dying in an insignificant fortress, suffering from hunger." Otto III died in 1002, in his twenty-third year.

The direct line of Otto the Great ended in Otto III, and the crown fell to the collateral branch of the Saxon house in the person of Henry II of Bavaria (1002–24). At his election Henry had given his ancestral duchy of Bavaria to his brother-in-law, Henry of Luxemburg. Henry of Luxemburg conspired with the bishops of Metz and Trier, who were also brothers-in-law of the king; so that Henry II had as his first task the usual one of crushing a rebellion. The king appointed a young warrior, Poppo, as archbishop of Trier; Poppo distributed sixty prebends as fiefs to as many knights, and with this small feudal army restored peace. Boleslav Chrobry of Poland also rebelled at this time, and twice overran Meissen. Henry himself went to Italy in 1004. He managed to suppress some of the factions and before his return was crowned king of the Lombards by the archbishop of Milan. On a second descent into Italy he was crowned emperor by Pope Benedict VIII in 1014. Henry's greatest military efforts, however, were directed against the Poles. Between 1007 and 1017 he organized six fruitless expeditions against Boleslav. In 1018 he was finally compelled to recognize Boleslav as a vassal. Italy had broken out into war as soon as Henry left it. The mutual hostility of the bishops and the nobles, of the lesser nobles and the great nobles or *capitani*, and of the towns, made it seem feasible to continue German interference; and in 1023–24 Henry again campaigned in Italy. With his death in 1024, the Saxon dynasty ended. At least the one hundred and five years of Saxon rule had saved Germany from the anarchy of French history in the tenth century.

The Saxon kings had promoted the power of the bishops to check the power of the great feudal lords. As by their vows monks were recluses, abbots could not be employed in the royal service as effectively as could bishops; and the Saxon kings therefore had not favored them with such munificent grants of crown lands and market and toll rights. They had even appropriated much land from abbeys and distributed it among the bishops. The resulting hostility of the monks to the throne was increased by their sympathy with the new reform movements

Henry II of Bavaria, last of the Saxon dynasty

Hostility between the bishops and abbots

within the Church which looked to its complete independence of the secular power. Though the bishops admitted the spiritual headship of Rome, they denied the right of ecclesiastical appeal from a German church council to Rome, and tried to keep the monasteries

within their jurisdiction. The election of a successor to Henry II was largely a struggle between the bishops and the abbots, and the bishops triumphed in the election of Conrad II the Salian (1024-39).

A revolt against Conrad in Lorraine and the Rhineland collapsed *Conrad II* after some years and Conrad made the usual visit to Italy to put down *the Salian* a Lombard insurrection and to be crowned king and emperor of Italy. The most important feature of his reign, however, was his internal administration. The Saxon emperors, striving to check the feudal nobles, had so increased the power of the bishops that they in turn menaced the authority of the crown. In order to check the

power of the bishops and the great vassals, Conrad permitted under-fiefs to pass from father to son. In his civil and military administration he began to employ able men of servile origin, the *ministerials*. As these men, whether soldiers or officials, had everything to gain by supporting the crown, they were much more reliable than either feudal nobles or bishops. Naturally the nobles and clergy resented the power of these parvenus; nevertheless many of the ministerials became members of the lower nobility and some of them even became bishops. In Italy Conrad continued the policy of the Saxon emperors of filling the bishoprics with Germans. By the Constitution of Pavia (1037) he made the fiefs of the lower nobility heritable in Italy; thus he further diminished the power of the great houses in Italy, already shut out of important positions in the Church, and ultimately promoted town life in Lombardy.

In Lower Italy important events had taken place. After their defeat by Pope John X in 916 the Saracens had ceased to be formidable. But in 1016 a new page in the history of Southern Italy was turned. The Norsemen in France had made themselves a part of French civilization; but with their traditional wanderlust many Norman nobles fought the Moslems in Spain or made pilgrimages. In 1016 forty Norman knights made a pilgrimage to the grotto of St. Michael in Mount Gargano. They found that the inhabitants, enraged by the excessive Byzantine taxation, had just revolted and were eager for their

The Normans in Italy military assistance. They sent back to Normandy the news that in this rich land a poor knight might make his fortune with his horse and his sword; and Norman knights began to stream into Italy. Though the Catholic bishops welcomed them as allies against the Orthodox Church, the Normans themselves fought now with the Lombard princes and now with the Greeks, with the sole purpose of increasing their own lands. Soon the Normans had acquired all of Apulia and Calabria—the "heel" and "toe" of the boot, and proved themselves as harsh masters of the population as the Greeks they had displaced. In 1053 Pope Leo IX attempted to expel the Normans, was beaten and captured at Civatella, and though he had no authority to do so, he granted them the investiture of all the lands they had taken from the Saracens and the Greeks. Roger Guiscard, the Norman duke, completed the conquest of the southern provinces, capturing Bari in 1071

after a four years' siege, and his brother Roger began the conquest of Sicily.

At the accession of Henry III to the throne in 1039, the German *Henry III and* monarchy was stronger than it had ever been. No feudal revolt broke *the Cluny* out; of the German duchies only Saxony and Lorraine had dukes of *reform* their own, and Henry III ruled the four other duchies as both duke and king. To check the Billungers of Saxony Henry erected castles upon his crownlands in Saxony and garrisoned them with Bavarian and Swabian ministerials. Bretislav, the Bohemian duke, had taken advantage of the anarchy in Poland to seize several cities there and attempted to make Bohemia independent. In 1041 Henry compelled Bretislav to become his vassal. In Hungary a feud raged between the pagan nationalists and the Germanophile Christians; Henry invaded Hungary and annexed to Austria the territory as far as the Morava and Leitha rivers. The greatest danger to the monarchical authority in Germany was the spread of the Cluny reform. Henry apparently did not envisage the probable effect of the reform and when the archbishop of Lyons, sustained by the clergy of Lotharingia, refused to take the oath of fidelity always required of a bishop, Henry yielded. In 1046 he went to Rome, where he was crowned emperor and where he attempted to bring some order into the chaos of the papacy. He was recognized as overlord by the Norman ruler of Apulia. The next ten years of his reign he spent in unwisely promoting the spread of the Cluny reform. Thus before his death in 1056 he had aided in the establishment of the papal power which his son was to fight so vigorously.

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CHAPTER XIII

THE PAPACY AND THE WAR OF INVESTITURE

As the medieval Church grew the pope became dominant over the clergy and the clergy became more powerful in lay society. These two aspects of church history we may well study together. The church organization established by Charlemagne, like everything else of his making, was seriously impaired in the disintegration of the Carolingian Empire. The pope became a Roman noble and the clergy became feudalized. Bishops enfeoffed their lands and, themselves vassals of the kings or great dukes, became suzerains of vassals. They rode to war with their feudal trains, held court, administered justice and collected feudal dues within their lands quite like their neighboring lay nobles. Since the support of every church incumbent was derived from the landed endowments of his office, church property inevitably became feudalized; thus both church offices and office-holders reflected feudalism in idea and function.

From the ninth century to the end of the eleventh century the Latin Church was a loose federation of national churches, those of France, Germany, Italy, the Spanish monarchies and England. The pope was vaguely regarded as the spiritual head of the Church, but his authority over the national churches was not very clearly established. He gave the Church little, if any, general direction; there were no general councils and few even of a local nature, and those few were called by the kings. In spiritual affairs and in ecclesiastical discipline the several churches were independent of secular authority—though Charlemagne had legislated even in questions of faith—but otherwise the churches were dependent upon the lay rulers. The degree of lay control varied, of course, with the strength of the crown. In Germany and Italy under the German kings, and in England particularly after the Norman Conquest, the crown had almost complete authority over the episcopate. In France, although royal authority over the bishops was greater than royal authority over lay nobles and the French kings could control certain dioceses within great feudal provinces which

Loose organization of the early Church

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were not royally controlled, usually the dukes and counts of the great
fiefs controlled the Church within their lands. All appointments to
major ecclesiastical offices were made either by them or with their
approval.

The Church itself could not remain content with this condition.
For it had gradually developed a theocratic conception of the na-
ture of government. In the fifth century St. Augustine formulated its   *St. Augustine's*
political theory in *The City of God*. As the State is man-made it neces-   *"City of God"*
sarily is not only imperfect but evil. The only perfect social organism
is the heavenly kingdom. Unless submissive to ecclesiastical direction
and authority, all governments are usurpations; the Church, being
divinely founded, is God's agent and trustee for the management of
human affairs. In part the Church governs directly through its own
organization; in part it governs mediately by guiding lay rulers. Dur-
ing the time of the German kingdoms the State had reversed the rôle
Augustine had set up for it and had used the Church as an instrument
of its own government, sometimes intelligently and efficiently and
sometimes unjustly deflecting Church revenues and offices to secular
purposes. Charlemagne thought that a strong State and a strong
Church together might effect some kind of unity among the varied
populations and the distant territories of his Empire; and with all
his intelligence he seemed not to see the fundamental disharmony
between the constitutions of the State and of the Church. As long as his
strong will was imposed upon it, the Church concealed its secret con-
viction that it was at least equal, if not superior, to the State; never-
theless the theory of St. Augustine was never more than partially
obscured and it always haunted the mind of the Church.

With the accession of Louis the Pious, as we have seen, the Church
began a series of efforts to free itself from the State. Pope Stephen
IV ignored the earlier coronation of Louis by Charlemagne, and
crowned Louis again. Pascal I had himself hastily ordained before the
emperor could ratify his election; and instead of quashing the elec-
tion, Louis the Pious merely assured himself that the election was
canonical. In 829 the papacy cautiously expressed the opinion that
the spiritual power was superior to the temporal. Probably the popes
were interested in establishing themselves as Italian princes as well as
exalting the authority of the Church. When Louis the Pious was de-
graded at the Field of Lies (833) Gregory IV, who was a party to the

degradation, acted like a feudal noble anxious to acquire lands as a reward for supporting the rebellion of Lothair. Gregory shortly dictated the deposition of Louis and permitted Louis to be reinstated only after he had admitted the competence of the Church to depose him and had done penance for sins he had never committed. In 859 Charles the Bald recognized the right of the bishops who had consecrated him to depose him. At Charles's coronation as emperor in 875 Pope John VIII openly declared the emperor to be his creature. Thus papal anointment and coronation of kings and emperors effectively subordinated imperial dignity and in its symbolism tended to emphasize the superiority of the Church. The weakness of the later Carolingians enabled the doctrine of papal supremacy to grow rapidly.

By the end of the ninth century the Church was definitely committed to this doctrine. In the prevailing anarchy the Church suffered, and some radical churchmen even suggested that the Church ought to abolish State influence within itself and maintain a separate existence. But the separation of Church and State would have been quite impracticable in the feudal age, and instead the Church declared itself superior to the State. Clerical dreamers hoped for the utopia, the new society, the magnificent polity of *The City of God*. Side by side with these dreamers were inevitably more worldly churchmen. Bishops and abbots were statesmen, *missi dominici*, soldiers. They enjoyed vast revenues from endowments and from the tithe. They enjoyed great power and were hungry for more. Together with the dreamers they crystallized the design of the Church.

The great obstacle was that there seemed no law or precedent to validate the assertion of papal supremacy over kings and over the Church itself. "The evidence required to complete the chain of proofs could not be carried further back than the pontificate of Sylvester, within the first half of the fourth century. A blank of nearly three hundred years intervened. . . . The chain of Roman tradition was broken for want of the links requisite to connect it with its divine origin."

Forgery was no new thing. In 833 Gregory IV had been presented with forgeries which convinced him of his right to interfere in the politics of Europe; and the forged *Donation of Constantine* had appeared even earlier, though it had not yet been used to validate the claims of the Church. About 856-7 appeared the "Forged Decretals of Isidore," composed of forgeries already in circulation, new forg-

eries, and some genuine documents borrowed from other collections, and attributed to one Isidore Mercator. The purport of the forgeries was to diminish the power of the archbishops over the bishops, and to exalt the papacy. Rothad, bishop of Soissons, disciplined a priest without consulting his archbishop, Hincmar of Reims; and on the appeal of the priest was deprived of his office by Hincmar. Rothad appealed to Pope Nicholas I (858–67). Nicholas had just learned of the documents and accepting their authority as genuine, he restored Rothad and silenced Hincmar by quotations from them. Curiously enough, Hincmar was himself an accomplished forger. At the same time Pope Nicholas I succeeded in intervening in the Church of Lorraine. Lothair II, King of Lorraine, bribed his ecclesiastics to sustain his repudiation of his wife. Legally the acts of the church council of Lorraine were not subject to papal intervention; but on the appeal of the queen, Nicholas I quashed the decree of the council and excommunicated the Archbishops of Cologne and Trier. Nearly all the later claims of Gregory VII are embodied in the claims of Nicholas I that (1) all bishops must submit major ecclesiastical causes and doubtful cases to the Curia; (2) the pope could instruct any church or the entire Church either by letters or through a legate; (3) the pope alone could judge controversies between bishops and either priests or archbishops; (4) the pope could convoke, direct and approve national councils and confirm provincial councils and synods; (5) the judgments of the pope were final. Again the papacy had set a precedent for itself.

As we have seen, the Church suffered greatly during the ninth and tenth centuries. The feudality appropriated its lands and revenues and intruded laymen into clerical offices. The monasteries were separate foundations and the abbots had little ecclesiastical authority. The episcopate had a well-knit organization and the bishop could censure, excommunicate and interdict. The bishop also was not a man apart, like the abbot; but frequently actively interested in the lay life about him and a power in it. The abbeys therefore suffered more than the bishoprics; and during the civil wars and Norse invasions of the ninth century many monasteries disappeared and others became handfuls of poverty-stricken monks. The better sort of feudal nobles attempted to establish monasteries which would be secure against feudal invasion. Centers of such activity were Burgundy, Limousin, Paris, Flanders. But the greatest of these reform movements was that of

Cluny. In 910 William the Pious, Duke of Aquitaine, "for the safety of his soul" granted to Berno, former Abbot of Beaume and Gigny, a freehold of land at Cluny in the duchy of Burgundy. To prevent the abbey from falling under feudal tyranny William the Pious put it directly under papal authority "in such wise that neither by our own intervention nor by that of any other power may the monks be impeded from making a canonical election."

The Cluny reform

The Cluny reform was at first really a restoration. Berno had been selected as abbot because he had become famous for his discipline; and the Rule of St. Benedict was again enforced. The restoration was very successful; the monks of Cluny were soon noted for their asceticism, their excellent schools and their hospitality. Further endowments were showered upon them and more asked to join than the monastery could receive. Other monasteries were founded or taken over, each with its own abbot. As the discipline of these other abbeys tended to relax, the Benedictine practice of maintaining independent abbeys was changed. Over each monastery was placed a prior subject to the Abbot of Cluny. The monks of the later abbeys no longer elected their own abbots, and at Cluny itself the abbot selected his own successor. The old Benedictine autonomy of abbeys was replaced by the new, strongly organized Order of Cluny, under a single head, subject directly to the pope. The order spread rapidly and Cluny became one of the favorite and most powerful parts of the Church.

The demand for clerical celibacy

In the eleventh century Cluny, previously concerned only with the reform of monastic life, encouraged the demand for the extension of celibacy to the secular clergy, and began to agitate against lay investiture. Both demands were designed to increase the spirituality of the clergy and to release the Church from feudal interference. Hitherto, while the bishops were generally—though not always—unmarried, most of the lesser clergy were married. No canon of the church exacted celibacy of the priesthood; celibacy had always been a measure of church discipline; the church had always declared matrimony a holy state, but had simply insisted that celibacy was a more perfect state. The revolutionary nature of the demand for universal celibacy of the clergy is obvious. And yet, radical as the program was, it was justified by the conditions of the Church. For with the tremendous tendency of all feudal offices to become hereditary, the clergy were also inclining to become an hereditary caste. To protect the independ-

ence of the Church, to maintain the Church as an institution where able men of lowly birth might always find opportunity for their talents, to protect its endowments, its intellectual and spiritual vigor, celibacy was almost essential; and the agitation to require it of all clergymen spread rapidly.

Hildebrand, later Pope Gregory VII, espoused the cause. The Patarins, a group of religious extremists, mostly petty artisans, spread their opposition to clerical marriage and the clerical possession of temporalities over almost all Lombardy. Gregory took advantage of this existing public opinion; forbade married priests to say mass, admonished laymen not to hear masses said by married priests and deposed married priests who refused to put away their wives. Encouraged by the pope, the people assaulted married priests and their wives and children. Gregory's methods were strenuous, but he was determined to establish the discipline of celibacy among all the clergy.

The movement to abolish lay investiture involved the relations of the Church and the lay rulers, and was accordingly more complicated *Lay inves-* a reform than clerical celibacy, which was simply internal in the *titure* Church. The lay suzerains of church lands inevitably attempted to control them precisely as they controlled those of their lay vassals. Church rules provided that bishops should be elected by the diocesan clergy; and that abbots should be elected by the monastery monks, except in the case of the priors of the Cluniac monasteries who were appointed by the Great Abbot of Cluny. In no case did the Church make provision for lay interference in the election of its officials. Though the lay rulers claimed that they granted to any new incumbent merely the temporalities of his office, the Church remembered that the emperors retained the symbols of office—the ring and the crozier or staff—between the death of one incumbent and the investing of another. Thus they could prevent the investiture of any bishop, however legally elected, whom they did not like; and almost certainly dictate the election of some one they thought would be sufficiently subservient. The system increased the temptation, inevitably large enough, to the purchase of office by unscrupulous persons; and the long-continued efforts of the Church to curb *simony*—or the purchase of Church offices—indicates how widespread the practice must have been.

For a long time the popes took no great part in the various reform-

ing movements within the Church. After the death of Benedict VIII in 1014 the feudal lords of Rome had obtained control of the papacy and there was a good deal of factional disorder. To preserve its control of the papacy, one faction even elected a layman to the office—John XIX, a brother of Benedict VIII. Factional turbulence resulted in the deposition of one pope, Benedict IX, and then of his successor, Sylvester III and the restoration of Benedict IX. Then Benedict seems to have sold out to Gregory VI. The scandalous situation called Henry III to Rome in 1046. He presided at the synod of Sutri, where two popes were deposed and one abdicated. Two popes appointed by the emperor died almost at once; then Henry appointed Bruno of Toul as Pope Leo IX. Though not averse to imperial support Leo IX resented Henry III's interference, as did also the Cluniacs. Leo IX well understood the significance of the prohibition of lay investiture, and at Rome he met Hildebrand, the greatest and most ardent mind behind the reforms. The pope traveled through France and Germany, summoning and presiding over synods and councils, and incidentally, by his acts, establishing and making familiar a new system of ecclesiastical government.

New methods in papal elections

College of Cardinals

Leo IX died in 1054, Henry III in 1056. The Roman factions seized the Lateran, expelled Pope Stephen IX and the reforming clergy, and declared Benedict X pope. Benedict X in turn was deposed, degraded from the priesthood and confined for life. The result of these scandals was that in 1059 a synod was convened at Rome expressly to devise a means of free and regular elections to the papacy and to put an end to the scandalous irregularities. It provided that the seven collateral bishops of Rome, confirmed by the cardinal-deacons and cardinal-presbyters attached to the basilicas of St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Maria Maggiore and St. Lorenzo, should henceforth elect the pope. Theoretically the assent of the lower clergy and the people and nobles of Rome was required; but in practice the cardinal clergy *in collegio* elected the pope. Elections might not necessarily take place in Rome and a minority of the college of cardinals might canonically elect. The Roman nobles and their noisy factions were thus shut out of the elections, as was the emperor. To appease the claims of the emperor, Hildebrand diplomatically arranged that the existing rights of Henry IV were to be respected; but nothing was said of the rights of his successors; and every later emperor who

.ttempted to interfere in a papal election was denounced as a simo-
iiac. Hildebrand also shortly inaugurated papal legates *a latere*. As
he name indicates, they were chosen from the papal entourage;
isually they were cardinals on leave and intimate counsellors of
he pope. Their commissions did not expire with the death of the
)ope who appointed them and they were given almost plenary pow-
:rs.

Three days after the death of Alexander II, Hildebrand was unani-
nously elected as Pope Gregory VII (1073–85). After carefully
)btaining the emperor's approval, he was crowned. Hildebrand was *Pope*
iimself an example of the hospitality of the Church to talent, how- *Gregory VII*
:ver humble in origin. He was born about 1020, the son of a Tuscan
:arpenter and was educated in his youth in the Roman monastery
)f St. Mary. He early became prominent in the Church, attended the
:ouncil which elected Pope Leo IX, and in his pontificate was made
:ardinal sub-deacon. Hereafter he was one of the leading spirits in the
·eform group, if not indeed the controlling force behind the papacy.
)nce elected pope he vigorously asserted papal prerogatives, de-
iounced simony in unsparing terms, and as we have seen, ruthlessly
imposed celibacy upon all the clergy.

His ambitious claims for the papacy are summarized in the *Dictatus* *Dictates of*
Papae (Dictates of the Pope). Though not written until after Greg- *the Pope*
)ry's death, the twenty-seven articles summarize his claims, which, as
.n examination of the subtended more important ones will show, were
iufficiently sweeping.

2. That the Roman pontiff alone is rightfully called universal.

3. That he alone has the power to appoint, depose and reinstate
)ishops.

8. That he alone may use the imperial insignia.

12. That with him is the power to depose emperors.

16. That no general synod may be called without his command.

17. That no action of a synod and no book shall be regarded as
:anonical without his authority.

18. That his decree may be annulled by no one, and that he may
.nnul the decree of any one.

19. That he may be judged by no one.

22. That the Roman Church has never erred and will never err,
:o eternity.

24. That by his command or permission subjects may accuse their rulers.

27. That he has the power to absolve subjects from their oath of fidelity to wicked rulers.

In pursuance of his claim of papal supremacy Gregory VII asserted overlordship of western Christendom, though he was in fact overlord only of Norman Italy. He claimed Italy on the basis of the forged Donation of Constantine and the Donation of Charlemagne to Hadrian I. The reputed missionary journey of St. Paul to Spain gave him his claim to Spain. Hungary was a vassal kingdom because its first Christian king, Stephen, had "offered and surrendered it to St. Peter." St. Augustine's mission in 596 made England his. The conversion of Clovis in 496 made France a papal vassal. Saxony and Russia also were claimed to be under papal domination, and all countries that might in future be conquered from the infidels or heathen pertained to the Holy See.

Conflict between Henry IV and Gregory VII   Though he claimed all Europe, Gregory actively endeavored to establish papal supremacy in Germany. Henry IV had become king at the age of six. While the kingdom was under a regent the lay and church nobles had scandalously embezzled royal property. A civil war had laid waste much of the land. The Slavs of the right bank of the Elbe revolted in 1066 and, except for Holstein, captured all German territory east of the Elbe. As the crown laid no taxes and "lived of its own," immediately on his accession to active power Henry IV began legal process to recover crown property. He built castles upon the crown lands and sent in garrisons of ministerials. He forced the peasants to pay for the privileges of timbering and pasturing in the royal forests which they had traditionally had gratis. The peasants and nobles rebelled in 1073 and were not subdued until 1075. In December, 1075, Gregory VII cannily choosing this time of distraction in Germany, forbade the king to exercise the prerogative of lay investiture.

Gregory VII and Henry IV declare each other deposed   Henry IV summoned twenty-six bishops, who declared Gregory's election invalid; and Henry personally invited Gregory to "come down, come down, from the papal throne, and be accursed through all the ages." Gregory immediately deposed and excommunicated Henry in a document so worded that St. Peter himself seemed to do the deposing. By both absolving Henry's subjects from obedience and actually forbidding them to obey him, Gregory dissolved the one great bond

of feudal society; and a new civil war broke out, headed by the great nobles. They suspended Henry from the office of emperor until he should make peace with Gregory VII, who was to come to Germany in the spring.

Rather than appear before the Pope in the presence of his own vassals, Henry crossed the Alps with only his immediate family and a small group of retainers, among them one Frederick of Hohenstaufen. He intercepted Gregory at Canossa, where en route to Germany *Canossa* Gregory was staying at the castle of the Countess Matilda. Garbed like a penitent, Henry stood in the snow outside the castle a few hours each day for three days pretending contrition. The pope could not very well deny that Henry's repentance was sincere and he was thus practically forced to lift the ban against him. Many great dukes of Germany nevertheless refused to accept Henry, declared him deposed and set up Rudolf of Swabia as king. Another civil war was waged for three *Civil war in* years. Gregory repudiated the elevation of Rudolf and refused to re- *Germany* new the excommunication of Henry. Deserted by many nobles and badly in need of money, Rudolf seized church lands with which to buy the support of neutral lords; Henry demanded the excommunication of Rudolf, failing which he threatened to set up a new pope. Finally in 1080 Gregory again deposed and excommunicated Henry; whereupon *Second banning* the loyal German bishops declared Gregory deposed and some of the *of Henry IV* Italian bishops put up Guibert of Ravenna as pope. *(1080)*

Rudolf was killed in October and by the spring of 1081 Henry IV had so far restored himself in Germany that he could venture to attack the papal territories. After a protracted siege, Rome fell in 1084; Gregory fled to the Castle of St. Angelo; and Guibert crowned Henry. Exhausted by the siege the Romans were no longer loyal to Gregory VII. Since 1053 Robert Guiscard, duke of Norman Italy, had been a vassal of the papacy; but only after the fall of Rome did he move to aid his suzerain. On the approach of the Normans the Germans prudently withdrew; and the Romans again defended their city. Their hostility to Gregory was enormously increased when the Normans, entering Rome at last, sacked it more ruthlessly than had the Goths or Vandals. They burned much of the city and killed or enslaved many thousands of the people. The Norman duke removed Gregory from Rome and its hostile people, and kept him as a guest, more accurately as a prisoner of state, at Monte Cassino. There Greg-

ory died in 1085, declaring on his death bed, "I have loved justice and hated iniquity and therefore I die in exile."

Apparently Henry IV was completely victorious. Germany was exhausted by the prolonged wars and anxious for peace; one by one Henry's enemies died; and by 1091 he was in undisputed control. *Death of Henry IV* Then Henry's sons rebelled, first Conrad and then Henry. Conrad was deposed as heir and died in 1101. Pope Pascal II renewed the excommunication against Henry IV and induced Prince Henry to rebel. In 1105 Henry IV was forced to abdicate, though he refused to declare that he had unjustly fought Gregory VII or had oppressed the Church. Sheltered by the cities he had so long befriended, Henry IV died in 1106.

Henry V Henry V (1106–25) immediately began filling vacant bishoprics without consulting the pope. In 1110 he led an army to Italy to force the pope to crown him and to yield to his other demands. Pascal II first agreed with Henry V that the Church should renounce all its feudal lands and live upon its tithes and the contributions of the faithful; whereupon the emperor would no longer have any interest in enforcing lay investiture. But clerical opposition to this agreement was *Pascal II* so violent that Pascal II was forced to withdraw his consent. By threats Henry V obtained from Pascal both the crown and an agreement to lay investiture, and returned to Germany. Pascal thereupon repudiated his agreement and excommunicated Henry.

After another miserable civil war Henry V marched again upon Rome, intervened without much success in the papal elections, and *The Concordat of Worms* finally concluded with Pope Calixtus II the Concordat of Worms (1122). By the terms of the Concordat, the elections of bishops and abbots not in Germany were to be strictly canonical and only after the ceremony of consecration was the emperor to confer secular authority upon the new prelate. In Germany, however, the emperor had the right to be present in person, or to be represented, at the election; and the new prelate was to receive his temporalities from the crown before his consecration. It was not a satisfactory arrangement; the provision that all ecclesiastical coronations had to take place in the emperor's presence gave the emperor practically the power to veto an unsatisfactory election, as he could simply refuse to attend the announced coronation ceremonies. But the Church at least on paper won the principle of ecclesiastical investiture. Henry V died in 1125, before

the Concordat had been in operation long enough to make plain its unsatisfactory character.

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CHAPTER XIV

THE EASTERN ROMAN EMPIRE (802–1096)

THE three centuries of Byzantine history we shall now briefly consider, in addition to the constant civil and foreign wars, are marked internally by great social changes and externally by the rise of Russia in the north and the Seljuk Turks in Asia; and in our survey we shall see how the rivalry of the Greek and Latin Churches, as well as political rivalry, made it so easy for the Byzantines and the crusaders to regard each other almost as enemies.

Nicephorus I   Nicephorus I (802–11) rigorously attempted to put the treasury on a sound basis and to maintain the iconoclastic reforms; but he was never able to mollify the monastic party, which remained a source of constant trouble. He was forced to recognize Charlemagne's suzerainty over Benevento and Spoleto in Italy. In 806 the Arabs ravaged Cyprus, Rhodes and Asia Minor and forced a humiliating treaty upon the Empire. The Slavs in the Peloponnesus rebelled; and the Bulgars under Khan Krum revolted and defeated the imperial army. Nicephorus was forced to abdicate, and Michael I, an Armenian who had been count of the theme of Anatolia, ruled incapably and extravagantly for two years. After the Bulgarians made a furious attack upon Constantinople, Michael I was deposed, and the army chief, another Armenian, became Leo V (813–20). Leo V defeated the Bulgarians so decisively that for some years the Empire had peace in the north. Unfortunately Leo became involved in the controversy over religious images; and in 820 he was assassinated and his assassin became Michael II (820–9).

Michael II   The reign of Michael II was no more fortunate than that of his predecessor. The Serbs conquered Dalmatia; Saracens, astonishing to say, from Spain captured Crete; African Aghlabites conquered most of Sicily (827). More serious than these reverses in the distant parts of the Empire was the civil war (821–4). An ambitious army officer, Thomas, set up as a pretender in the eastern themes of Asia Minor

and intercepted taxes bound for Constantinople. He soon controlled most of Asia Minor and then, joined by many Slavs from Macedonia, besieged Constantinople. The siege was lifted only when invading Bulgarians destroyed the rebel army. The most disastrous effects of the civil war were the heavy taxes. The hearth tax was levied only on the rural population; the cities and the enormously wealthy monasteries and nunneries were exempt. The great proprietors, theoretically liable for the tax, frequently evaded it; and to add to this burden, the neighbors and sometimes the entire village of an insolvent taxpayer had to make up the deficiency. Heavy customs dues, death dues, judicial fines and a toll on receipts (practically an income tax) inevitably tended to impoverish the middle and lower classes; and the great proprietors expanded their holdings by picking up abandoned or confiscated farms very easily.

"The system of immense estates owned by rich proprietors and cultivated by peasants in a condition of serfdom, which had prevailed in the age of Justinian, had been largely superseded by the opposite *Reappearance* system of small holdings. . . . But by the tenth century vast prop- *of serfdom* erties and peasant serfs have reappeared. . . . The civil war could *and vast* not fail to ruin numberless small farmers who in prosperous times *properties* could barely pay their way, and the fiscal burdens rendered it impossible for them to recuperate their fortunes unless they were aided by the State. But it was easier . . . to allow these insolvent lands to pass into the possession of rich neighbors, who in some cases might be monastic communities. . . . If the government of Michael II had been wise it would have intervened, at all costs, to save the small proprietors. Future emperors might thus have been spared a baffling economic problem and a grave political danger." [1]

The reign of Theophilus II (829–42) was marked by continued *Theophilus II* Arab victories in Sicily and Asia Minor. The Empire in Europe was troubled in the north, where the Petchenegs, a Turkish people who were moving west out of Asia, harried the Black Sea ports. Yet, thanks chiefly to its enormous commerce, the Empire carried on. We know that in the twelfth century the imperial revenues were the annual equivalent of $600,000,000; and though our information is not very complete, in the ninth century the revenues could hardly have been less than half a billion dollars. And not all of this wealth was squan-

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[1] BURY, *The Eastern Roman Empire from Irene to Basil*, 110.

dered; some of it, at least, nurtured a Byzantine art that was one of the glories of the Middle Ages.

Michael III

Michael III, three years old when his father died, manifested no later interest in anything but the most extravagant frivolities and debaucheries. The Empire was first ruled by a regent and then by Basil. At this time the government practically surrendered to the party formed of the *dunatoi*, the great landed proprietors, and the orthodox clergy and monks. The Church and State joined in a relentless persecution of the Paulicians, a sect widely diffused in Asia Minor. In 860 a Russian fleet entered the Bosphorus and besieged Constantinople until it was dispersed by a great storm. Thereafter Russia, though not a part of the Empire and not always at peace with it, maintained important trade relations with Constantinople and was penetrated by Greek *Conversion* Christianity and civilization. To the vast chagrin of Pope Nicholas I, *of the Bul-* who had warmly aided missionary efforts in Bulgaria, the Bulgarians *garians by the* in 867 were converted to Greek Catholicism. Thus the mutual hostility *Greek Church* of the Roman and Greek Churches was intensified.

Basil I

Basil, an Armenian captured by the Bulgarians as a child, had escaped to Constantinople. There his great physical strength and beauty gave him opportunities which he capitalized so effectively that he was made chamberlain and then adopted by Michael III. In 867 Basil murdered his foster-father and ruled as emperor until 886. He fought effectively against the Arabs, sweeping them from the Ægean and establishing the Empire again in Sicily and Lower Italy. In Italy he established the themes of Langobardia and Calabria. At the same time Greek missionaries again discomfited the Roman missionaries, this time among the Slavonians in Dalmatia. Basil I brought about order in the imperial finances and distinguished himself by forcing many of Michael III's favorites to restore to the treasury the fortunes they had inveigled out of Michael. Basil's greatest achievement was his *Basilica*, a codification of the laws made by a commission of lawyers, and like Justinian's code, including the opinions and interpretations of the greatest jurists. The *Basilica* supplanted the code of Leo the Isaurian and remained in force until the fall of the Empire in the fifteenth century. We find the *Basilica* invaluable for administrative and institutional information, and through it we learn that by this time freeholders and free tenantry had almost disappeared, reduced to the almost universal serfdom of the large estates.

Leo VI (886–912), "the philosopher," saw the Empire driven in, *Leo VI*
or at least menaced, on every frontier. The Bulgarians defeated a
Greek army; Sicily was at last wholly lost in 907; Moslem pirates
attacked the Ægean Islands; and in 904 the Tripolitans sacked
Thessalonica, next to Constantinople the most important city in the
Empire. Constantine VII (912–59), after he was no longer under a
regent, through his generals extended the Empire again to the Cau-
casus, defeated the Magyars and the Petchenegs and fought against
the Arabs in Sicily. Byzantine influence spread in Russia and in 956
the Russian Grand Duke of Kiev formally professed Greek Orthodox
Christianity. Constantine VII was not himself a man of action, and
busied himself writing books on agriculture, medicine, history and the
lives of the saints, and was greatly interested in the decorative arts.

Under Romanus II (959–63) and then as Emperor himself, Ni- *Nicephorus*
cephorus Phokas (963–9) fought successfully against the Arabs in the *Phokas*
Mediterranean, increased Byzantine strength in Lower Italy and
thereby frustrated the designs of Otto the Great, and extended the
Empire again in Syria and Mesopotamia. In 968 he recovered Antioch,
which had been lost for three hundred years. His military exploits
necessitated new and heavier taxes; and he even taxed the vast Church
properties, arousing the usual clerical resentment. He was assassinated
in 969 by Zimisces, a captain of his guard; and at once the patriarch
demanded and received the repeal of the law by which Nicephorus II *Revival of*
had subjected church properties to taxation. After the reign of Zimis- *imperial*
ces (969–76), the Byzantine Empire reached its height under Basil *strength un-*
der Zimisces
II (976–1025). His greatest achievements were the subjection of *and Basil II*
the Bulgars and the reconquest of Lower Italy. The Bulgarian Em-
pire was large and of great military strength, and threatened to expand
at the expense of the Byzantines in Thrace, Macedonia and Thessaly.
Basil II ended the almost incessant war when, after a vigorous cam-
paign between 1014–18, he completely subdued the Bulgarians and
once again the Balkan peninsula was unified. Otto II had married the
daughter of Nicephorus II and, claiming Lower Italy as his wife's
dowry, planned to seize Apulia and Calabria. Basil II, with the help
of the Saracens of Sicily, defeated Otto near Tarantum. Against the
danger of future German aggression, Basil reorganized the provincial
governments, and centered a militarized administration under a catapan
or viceroy at Bari. To protect the province against the further danger

of his temporary allies, the Sicilian Moslems, he made an alliance with the Venetians, whose fleet he wished to supplement the Byzantine navy, and extended to them important trading privileges within the Empire. In 1002 the Venetian fleet prevented the Saracens from capturing Bari, and Basil attacked them in Lower Italy. Later, the revolted catapan called upon the Normans for assistance and Basil left to the Lombard princes in the south of Italy the difficult task of beating off these new-comers.

In the twenty-seven years after the death of Basil II, there were seven emperors, every one a hopeless wight. The unpaid army mutinied. Arab pirates again infested the Ægean. The catapan of Bari was given no support to resist the Normans. The Petchenegs assailed the Danube frontier. Revolts broke out in several provinces. Antioch was lost in 1029. New things in history always originate from the real point of power. The most powerful element in the Empire was the *dunatoi* of the Asiatic provinces; and the greatest family among the *dunatoi* were the Comneni. They are first mentioned when Nicephorus Comnenus ably defended Nicæa under Basil II against a pretender. Henceforth the Comneni were never out of favor and soon were commanding armies and governing provinces. In 1057 Isaac Comnenus

The
"dunatoi"
and the
Comneni

was declared emperor by a group of generals and was supported by the army and the *dunatoi*.

The Seljuk Turks, of the same original group as the Petchenegs whom we have noticed attacking the Empire along the Danube, had entered Persia and embraced Islam. At first they were soldiers under the khalif. In 842 a Turkish captain was made military commander with the title of sultan; and shortly the Turks were the real power in Persia. In 945 the sultan restricted the khalif to his religious duties only; and in 1055 Togrul Beg forced the khalif to make the sultanate hereditary in his family, welded the loose Turkish clans into a nation, and ruled over all the Persian part of the Baghdad Khalifate. Under the Seljuks occurred one of the great ages of Persian literature and science. Omar Khayyám, (died 1124) mathematician and poet and famous to us through Fitzgerald's translation of his *Rubáiyát*, was only one of the many artists and scientists at the court. Alp-Arslan, (1063–72) conquered Syria, Armenia and Georgia, and penetrated Phyrgia. The Greeks, alarmed by these new attacks, fell upon the local emirs Alp-Arslan had planted in Central Asia Minor, and drove the Turks back beyond the Euphrates. Flushed by these victories the emperor marched into Armenia with a motley army of one hundred thousand men— among the mercenaries from France and Italy was Ursel Baliol, ancestor of the kings of Scotland—and then besieged Manzikert. Here in 1073, the same year in which the Normans captured Bari and ended Byzantine control of Lower Italy, the great army was annihilated by the Turks. The emperor was captured and only released after promising to pay the staggering sum of 1,000,000 pieces of gold as ransom and an annual tribute of 360,000 pieces of gold. But not much of even the ransom was paid, for on the news of the defeat at Manzikert, a palace revolution dethroned the emperor. After ten years of political tumult, Alexius I, Comnenus (1081–1118), the greatest of the Comneni, became emperor. We shall see his importance in the First Crusade.

Rise of the Seljuk Turks

Turkish victory at Manzikert

After the death of Alp-Arslan, internal feuds broke out among the Seljuks, but Malek Shah (1072–92) reconquered much lost territory, reduced Bokhara and Samarkand, crossed the Oxus and penetrated even into Kashgar, a Tartar kingdom tributary to the Chinese emperor. His empire, as large as that of Alexander the Great, collapsed immediately upon his death and fell apart into many separate kingdoms. Most important was the kingdom of Roum, which comprised most of Asia

Minor and was enormously rich in mines—silver, iron, copper, and alum—and grain, wine, cattle and horses.

The Byzantine Empire extended only from the Bosphorus to Adrianople. Yet under Alexius it took on new energy, and its history became one with that of the crusades.

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CHAPTER XV

THE CRUSADES

T HE crusades were not exclusively exhibitions of popular religious zeal. They were not simply culminations of pilgrimages nor a new "wandering of nations." Nor were they wholly a medieval form of European economic expansion and colonization. *Period of* The crusades were all of these simultaneously. Though the conven- *the Crusades* tional dates, (1095–1291), include the most active period of the crusades, it would be best to consider them as the medieval period in the long conflict between East and West. We may, as historians usually do, distinguish eight crusades, four in the Holy Land, two against Egypt, one against Constantinople, and one against the Moslems in North Africa; but we must think of these as simply high spots in one broad and steady movement which began much earlier than 1095 and which did not cease for many years after 1291.

The medieval practice of making pilgrimages to the Holy Land began in the fourth century and soon there were even guide-books for the pilgrims. As the Church grew in strength, the pilgrimages multi- *Pilgrimages* plied, and occasionally a cleric like St. Boniface protested that too many *to the Holy* pilgrims were adventurers or vagabonds, peddlers or even fugitive *Land* criminals. The conquests of the Turks did not stop pilgrimages. We have records of sixteen pilgrimages in the tenth century and of one hundred and seventeen in the eleventh century, and apparently the pilgrimages were larger as well as more numerous. Then there was the peculiar intensification of religious ardor. At times there is a kind of spiritual contagion in the atmosphere, and the eleventh and twelfth centuries were just such times. A symptom of the new spirit was the effort of the Church, through the Peace of God and the Truce of God, to suppress private war. The Church now distinguished between just and unjust wars; and no war, of course, could be so just as one against the infidel. The Italian maritime cities had early developed a profitable trade with the Levant, and they were willing to increase their profits by seizing some of the Levantine ports. Thus the crusades were

a culmination of many motives, though to point out these perfectly worldly motives is not to deny either the sincerity or the force of the purely religious motive.

In addition to the numerous pilgrimages to the Holy Land, other movements of the eleventh century helped to popularize the idea of the crusades. Robert Guiscard's kingdom of Lower Italy and Sicily had been largely won from the infidel. Even more important in anticipation of the crusades were the wars waged by the Christians against the Moslems in Spain. Undoubtedly these wars helped to turn men's thoughts towards a war to recover the Holy Land itself from the Moslems who held it.

Other wars against the infidel

After the Arab conquest of the Spanish peninsula, most of the Christian population fled to Frankish Gaul. Others remained in Spain, where they were tolerated under the brilliant Moslem civilization. Only in the foot hills of the Pyrenees and the valleys of the Asturias, where the Arab cavalry was badly hampered, did the Christians maintain themselves. There they founded the small kingdom of Asturias. As it expanded it encountered the Basques, that hardy and historically puzzling people whom even the Romans and the Visigoths had never more than nominally subdued. These states were incorporated in the Spanish Mark of Charlemagne. Upon the disintegration of the Frank Empire, the Spanish Mark split into the county of Barcelona at the east, Asturias at the northwest, and Navarre and Aragon between. Chronic raids of the Christians and Moslems upon each other's territory soon bred a mutual fanaticism; and the Christian kingdoms began to push against the Moors. Navarre was blocked by the Moorish occupation of Saragossa and always remained a small principality. The Aragonese pushed down the Ebro, absorbed the county of Barcelona and for many years maintained such active relations with French Provence that they did little to increase their territory at the expense of the Moors in Spain. Asturias largely began the aggressions which resulted in the union of Spain under the Christians. Ordono (850–66) captured León, between the mountains of Asturias and the Douro, and the road to inland Spain was open.

Christian territory in Moslem Spain

The Moslems were torn by civil wars among themselves, and Alfonso III (866–910) captured many Moslem towns *gladio aut fame* —by sword or hunger—and took the title of King of Asturias and León. He built lines of castles along the border, behind which the Christian

Moslem civil wars and victories of Alfonso III

population could farm and raise their sheep and cattle in some safety. Thus (Old) Castile, a frontier state, was named after its many castles. As the lines of castles were extended and the people flowed in behind them, the more important settlements were given charters of privileges, *fueros*, the earliest municipal documents of medieval history. Castile and León hereafter were sometimes united under one king, and sometimes divided among several heirs. Remembering this, we can make our generalizations about the advance of the Castilians down the center of the peninsula.

Under the Ommeyad dynasty Islam in Spain was united, and not only offered a stubborn resistance but pushed the Castilians back to their original territory. The walls of León were leveled and the city was deserted for twenty years. The capital of the kingdom was again set up at Oviedo. The Christians lost all the plains and preserved only their fortresses in the mountains, and the Moslems ravaged even Navarre and the territory of Barcelona. A great Christian victory at Calatañazor in 1002 finally stopped the advance of the Moslems; in 1031 the Ommeyads were deposed and Spanish Islam broke up into a number of local emirates. The Castilians advanced again and in 1085 captured Toledo. Shortly they reached the Tagus River, occupied Lisbon in the west, and compelled the emirs of Seville, Saragossa and Badajoz to pay tribute. *Ommeyad victories and later disintegration*

In 1086 the emirs of Spain appealed for aid to Yussuf, the chieftain of the Almoravides, a fanatical Berber sect which had seized control of northern Africa. Yussuf recovered some territory from the Christians, but imposed himself upon the Spanish Moslems as well, and the magnificent Moslem civilization of Spain ended under Almoravide fanaticism. The Almoravide Empire was soon ended by the invasion from Africa of another fanatical sect, the Almohades. With such war among the Moslem armies the Christians advanced rapidly. The Aragonese recovered Saragossa and soon had doubled the size of their kingdom. The Castilians even penetrated to the Mediterranean and for a short time occupied Almería. In 1095 the county of Portugal was granted as a Castilian fief to a Count Henry of Burgundy; in 1140 under Henry's grandson Alonzo it shook itself free of this overlordship and became the kingdom of Portugal, with practically its present boundaries after 1250. *The Almoravides and the Almohades*

The kingdom of Portugal

A crusade preached by Innocent III against the Almohades resulted

in the great Christian victory at Navas de Tolosa in 1212. Castile, capturing Seville in 1248 and Cadiz in 1262, reached the sea at last and entered upon a thriving commerce. Aragon, by absorbing Barcelona, had reached the sea in 1137 and in 1167 the king of Aragon by marriage became count of Provence. Aragon lost these French possessions in 1213 and turned south against the Moslems. It captured

Christian conquest of all Spain but Granada

Valencia in 1225 and the Balearic Islands in 1229. By the end of the century the Moors retained only the kingdom of Granada. From this they were not driven until Castile and Aragon, long occupied by internal feuds and squabbles for the crown, were united by the marriage of Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon in 1469. War was resumed against the Moslems and after a protracted siege, Granada was captured in 1492, and Moorish control of any part of Spain was ended.

The effects, physical and social, of these long, incredibly ferocious wars are still apparent. To this day the central plateau of Spain is a sparsely populated, treeless plain known as the *despoblado.* The geography of Spain does not of itself tend to produce a political unity, as does that of France; and Spain has never erased the lines of the old kingdoms from her internal politics. The long wars against infidels bred in the Spanish people a most intense Catholicism for which they have ever since been noted. The government of Spain, an absolute monarchy only after 1523, embodied the Cortes or assembly of estates; and burgher representatives of the cities sat with the nobles and clergy as early as 1133 in Aragon, and 1169 in Castile. Burgher representation first appeared in England in 1265, in France in 1302 and in Germany in 1344.

The Spaniards had long been fighting Islam when the Byzantine Emperor Alexius Comnenus appealed to the pope for aid against the Seljurk Turks. In 1095 at the Council of Clermont Pope Urban II called for a restoration of the Holy Land to Christendom. To those who went as crusaders Urban offered plenary indulgence and eternal life.

Urban II and the calling of the First Crusade

Serfs were to be freed, debtors relieved, prisoners released, to swell the ranks of the armies. As a visible sign, the crusader was to wear a cross upon his breast; on his victorious return he was to wear the cross upon his back. The words of the pope stirred all Europe, and France particularly, to a frenzy. But before any well-organized armies could be gathered, itinerant preachers, the most notorious of whom was

SPAIN AT END OF 12TH CENTURY

BAY OF BISCAY

ATLANTIC OCEAN

ROUSSILLON
NAVARRE
BARCELONA
Burgos 1118
Saragossa 1118
ARAGON
Barcelona
Salamanca
PORTUGAL
Tortosa 1148
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Toledo 1085
Lisbon 1147
Battle of Zallaca 1086
Calatrava 1147
ALMORAVIDES
Battle of Ourique 1139
Cordova
Seville
Granada
Cadiz
Malaga

Christian States at the beginning of the 10th Century
Moorish Spain at end of 12th Century
Dates are those of Christian Conquest

BAY OF BISCAY

ATLANTIC OCEAN

St. James of Compostella
CASTILE
NAVARRE
ARAGON
ROUSSILLON
KINGDOM OF MAJORCA (Conquered by Aragon, 1229-1232 Separate kingdom, 1262)
PORTUGAL
Toledo
VALENCIA 1238
Lisbon 1147
Battle of Navas de Tolosa 1212
Murcia 1243
ALGARVE 1257
Cordova 1236
Jaen 1246
Seville 1244
Cadiz
GRANADA
Xeres 1250
Tarifa, 1285

SPAIN AT END OF 13TH CENTURY

Limits of Moorish Spain at end of 13th Century
Dates are those of Christian Conquest

L.A.Dickinson

Peter the Hermit, started a kind of stampede among the peasantry. Whole villages were deserted; and mobs of illiterates poured along the roads, pillaging farmsteads and sacking the Jewries as they went. These wretched bands at last reached Constantinople and swarmed over all the city, looting and pilfering almost with impunity. The Byzantines hastily shipped them across the Bosphorus, where they were promptly destroyed by the Turks. Only a few escaped, among them Peter the Hermit.

The crusaders and Emperor Alexius

In the winter of 1096–97 four main armies arrived in Constantinople, under Godfrey de Bouillon, Count Robert of Flanders, Count Raymond of Toulouse and Bohemond, son of Robert Guiscard. Though uneasy at the presence of so many fellow-Christians but potential enemies, Alexius nevertheless attempted to impose his overlordship upon the several armies, in exchange for the use of his fleets and supplies. As most of the crusaders agreed to restore to the Empire any territory they might conquer, except the Holy Land itself, Alexius seems to have been a good bargainer. The crusaders crossed the straits and besieged Nicæa, the capital of the Turkish kingdom of Roum. After resisting for a month, Nicæa surrendered in June, 1097, but to a Greek officer, and thus escaped the worst of the crusaders' pious fury. In July, through the skill of Bohemond, the crusaders defeated a Moslem army at Dorylæum under the Emir Soloman which was moving to relieve Nicæa. The Christians lost about four thousand men and killed about twenty thousand, and gained the alliance of the Christian King of Armenia and the support of the many Christians in the Turkish dominions.

Dissension among the crusaders

The great hardships of the march across Asia Minor were aggravated by the dissension among the leaders. Baldwin, Godfrey's brother, left the main army, seized Edessa, which was a Christian not a Moslem stronghold, and established a crusaders' post there. The rest of the army besieged Antioch, the most important city in Syria. The siege was long and terrible. The crusaders had great difficulty in bringing food by sea from Constantinople, and fever broke out among them. Moslem armies sent to relieve Antioch were destroyed in December, 1097 and February, 1098. A third army, estimated extravagantly at half a million men, was despatched to relieve Antioch and the efforts of the crusaders to capture the city were redoubled. A traitor within the city helped the troops of Bohemond to enter, in June, 1098. The

principality of Antioch was founded. The huge relieving army had wasted three weeks in a futile siege of Edessa, and arrived before Antioch three days after the crusaders had captured it. By a great spurt of enthusiasm the crusaders drove off the army and in dwindling *Capture of* numbers marched toward Jerusalem. They besieged the city for two *Jerusalem* months and then in July, 1099, stormed it successfully, and slaughtered its population, even the local Christians. "In Solomon's porch and in his temple, our men rode in the blood of the Saracens up to the knees of the horses." Every man marked the first available house, to indicate his newly acquired ownership "and preserve it as his heritage to the present day"—so runs the chronicle.

Nevertheless as soon as they had fulfilled their vow to take the Holy City, most of the crusaders returned home. Godfrey, the only prominent leader left, by the spring of 1100 had only two hundred knights and eleven hundred infantry under him; and the Moslems still controlled the seaports and most of the interior. Godfrey refused to be crowned king, and took the title "Baron and Defender of the Holy Sepulchre." On his death in 1100, his brother became king of Jerusalem as Baldwin I (1100–1118). Without a fleet the crusaders could not take the coast towns. They promised Genoa, Venice and Pisa one third of the booty of every captured town, and a free and permanent quarter in each town as a trading center; and aided by the fleets of the cities, the new kingdom captured many ports—Arsuf and Cæsarea in 1101, Acre in 1104, and notably Tyre in 1124. The countryside of Jerusalem was so depopulated by the wars that Arabs were introduced, on promises of religious freedom and grants of land.

The new kingdom comprised four baronies: Antioch, Edessa, Tripoli and Jerusalem; and the new king was baron of Jerusalem as *Feudalism* the French kings were counts of Paris. The feudal sub-letting of lands *and com-* was instituted, and there were seven grand fiefs in Palestine alone. *mercialism* French was the official language of the new state. The Italians, of *crusaders* course, used Italian in their own trading quarters, which were complete communities and subject only to the jurisdiction of the cities which founded them. Unique creations of the First Crusade were the orders of the Knights of the Temple and the Knights of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, combinations of monasticism and chivalry. They soon had commanderies corresponding to what are now France, Spain and Italy spread over Christian Europe. The commanderies

were divided into priories and local chapters. The grand commander was elected for life by the grand chapter of the priors. The Knights Templars and the Hospitalers became enormously wealthy, as they were enthusiastically given great gifts. They acquired large trading privileges and soon, like the Italians, were doing a thriving business. Even the pilgrims, constantly arriving, became traders and went home laden with goods. The volume of trade became so great that all the Mediterranean ports waxed fat on it; and the Lombard towns grew wealthy forwarding goods across the Alps.

But the little kingdom could not last. Its crown never became hereditary; the great lords intrigued with the Greeks and frequently with the Moslems against each other. The two military orders were practically independent corporations and used their great wealth against each other as often as against the Moslems. The trade rivalries *Weakness of* of Venice, Genoa and Pisa were quite as bitter, and the intermittent *the Christian* harrying of the eastern borders of the tiny kingdom provoked the *principalities* Moslems to a stronger union than they could otherwise have maintained. The Greeks proved very unreliable allies; perhaps they were justifiably as wary of the crusaders as of the Moslems. Moreover, with closer contact, Arabian civilization seemed very attractive to many crusaders once eager only to slay the almost mythical Saracen. Some crusaders even became Moslem; many certainly lost their quondam Christian zeal and in the presence of Arab civilization developed a new tolerance and a new interest for new things.

In 1144, while the Prince of Antioch was off on a campaign against the Byzantines, the emir of Mosul captured Edessa. The impassioned *The Second* preaching of St. Bernard induced Louis VII of France and Conrad *Crusade a* III of Germany to undertake a new crusade. St. Bernard even in- *shocking* duced Pisa and Genoa to forego their trade rivalry and to agree to *failure* furnish shipping for the armies. In 1147 the armies proceeded down the Danube route to Constantinople. The German army had gone first, to avoid friction with the French; it pillaged and robbed as it went, and so stripped the country that the French coming after them suffered greatly from a lack of provisions. The emperor shipped the Germans across the straits where nine-tenths of them were killed near Dorylæum. Conrad III returned home in ignominious failure. The French were no more successful. Louis VII deserted his army at Attalia

where, through the connivance of the Greeks, it was slaughtered. The second crusade was a shocking failure.

KINGDOM OF ARMENIA

COUNTY OF EDESSA

OEdessa 1141

Aleppo 1128 (Sal.1183)

Mosul 1127 (Sal.1185)

Antioch PRINC- OF ANTIOCH DOMINION

Apamia— OF ATABEKS

ASSASSINS

Mons Ferrandus

Krak des Chevaliers

OEmesa

Tortosa

Tripoli COUNTY OF TRIPOLI

EMIRATE OF DAMASCUS 1154 (Sal.1174)

Sidon

Tyre

Acre DAMASCUS

Tiberias

Jaffa ONablus

Ibelin

Ascalon

Jerusalem 1187

Bethlehem

Kerak

FATIMITE KHALIFATE

Montreal

Cairo (Sal.1171)

MEDITERRANEAN SEA

CYPRUS

Baghdad

Euphrates

Tigris R.

Nile

RED SEA

MAP SHOWING

DOMINIONS OF SALADIN

AT HIS DEATH IN 1193.

TOGETHER WITH

GREATEST EXTENT OF LATIN STATES

AND KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM

— · — Boundary of Saladin's Dominions

Kingdom of Jerusalem·

Remnants of Jerusalem and Latin States after 1190

Dates are those of Atabek conquest

Those in brackets are stages of Saladin's Conquests

L A Dickinson

Fatimite Egypt at this time was rent with dissension; but Salaheddin, or Saladin, united it and combined it with Arabic Syria and *Rise of* Damascus, and the emirates of Mosul and Aleppo, and thus created *Saladin* a formidable Mohammedan state east and south of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, which was gravely menaced; nevertheless the crusaders twice broke truces with Saladin. Thus provoked, Saladin de-

feated the Christians near Tiberias and captured Jerusalem in 1187. Soon the only cities controlled by the crusaders were Tyre, Tripoli, and Antioch. Richard I of England, when urged by the pope, agreed to go on a new crusade if Philip II of France, a standing menace to

Richard of England and Philip of France on the Third Crusade

Richard's continental fiefs, would also go. Philip II consented, and Frederick Barbarossa also decided to march to Jerusalem. Barbarossa started first; instead of sailing from Venice, he obstinately kept to the old land route; and was drowned in Cilicia. Only a small fragment of his army, under Leopold of Austria, finally reached the Holy Land. Richard had been betrothed to Philip's sister Alice since his infancy; but no sooner had the two kings joined forces than they quarreled and Richard broke off his betrothal. He interfered in the effort of Henry VI, Frederick's son, to conquer Norman Italy, and then sailed on with his new fiancée, Berengaria of Navarre. Berengaria was shipwrecked and made prisoner by the bandit chieftain of Cyprus, whereupon Richard stopped to conquer Cyprus, which he presented to the homeless King of Jerusalem, married Berengaria and finally joined Philip II at Acre. In July, 1191, the kings captured Acre, and later Jaffa and Cæsarea. But they could not maintain harmony. Leopold went home, and Philip feigned illness and sailed back to France, after scuttling as many of the remaining ships as he could. Richard performed many single-handed deeds of valor which became the subjects of later legends, but he could not capture Jerusalem and after making a truce with Saladin, set out for England in 1192 but was shipwrecked on the Adriatic coast and captured by Leopold, who turned him over to Henry VI, whom he had antagonized in Sicily, by whom he was imprisoned for a long time.

The fourth crusade and the capture of Constantinople

Despite the discouragement now prevalent in Europe—the war between Richard I and Philip II, the sordid commercial rivalries of the cities and the feuds between the orders—Pope Innocent III flogged Christendom into a new effort to win the Holy Land. The new crusade was to be directed first against Egypt and thence against the Holy Land, and the Venetians were to carry the armies in their ships. But the Venetians had no mind to let religion imperil their ancient and lucrative trade with Egypt in timber, iron, arms, and—despite papal prohibition—slaves. The crusaders gathered in Venice and the Venetians kept them there until they had spent all their money. Then they were induced to attack Zara, a rival port on the Dalmatian coast of

the Adriatic. After sacking Zara in 1202, the crusaders set sail, ostensibly for Egypt. The Venetians, however, diverted the fleet to Constantinople. Nothing loath, the crusaders proceeded to attack it. After unsuccessful assaults in July, 1203, and April, 1204, the crusaders later in April captured the city, and sacked it ruthlessly. "Never," says a chronicler, "since the world was created, had so much booty been won

ROUTES OF THE CRUSADES
——— First Crusade
■ ■ ■ ■ Second "
·——·——· Third "
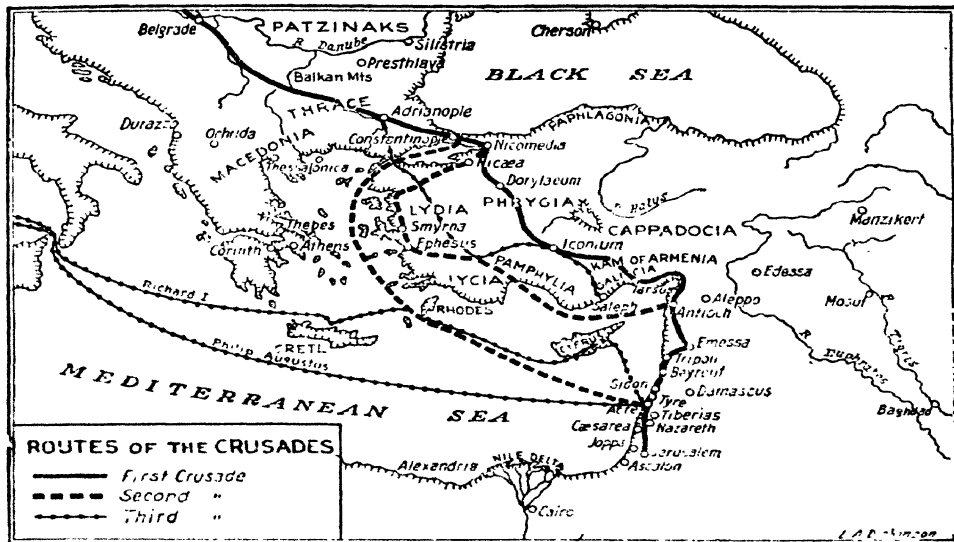
in any city. Those who before had been poor, were now in wealth and luxury." When this spoil was sent back, the West was astonished. The destruction of manuscripts and works of art was a loss beyond calculation. The few plays of Sophocles and Euripides we now possess are but the salvage of this atrocious destruction; we know that most of the plays had survived until then. The whole affair is terrible evidence of the depths to which the crusades had sunk. The so-called Latin Empire of Constantinople was erected on the ruins of the Byzantine Empire in Europe. Venice took three-eighths of Constantinople and many of the ports and islands; and the rest of the Empire was parcelled out in good feudal style to numerous knights and lords. Innocent III, who sincerely deplored the result of this crusade, comforted himself by establishing in the Balkans a hierarchy of the Latin Church. The fragile empire lasted only until 1261, when the Greeks restored a dynasty of their own.

Other
crusades

Of the other movements toward Jerusalem large enough to be called crusades, the Children's Crusade (1212) was the most pathetic. "Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings hast Thou ordained strength," said the preachers; and thousands of French and German children started for the Holy Land, to conquer it with their innocence. Venetian and Genoese merchants sold many of them into slavery in Egypt and Tunis. Some reached Rome to obtain the blessing of the pope and were sent home. Under pressure of excommunication by the pope, Frederick II set out for the Holy Land; and though badly received by the French baronage at Acre, he negotiated a treaty with the sultan which restored Jerusalem and Bethlehem to the Christians, together with a corridor of land to the sea. The Moslems were to retain the mosque of Omar and to have free access to it. For his pains, when he crowned himself King of Jerusalem (1229), Frederick II was rewarded with an interdict upon Jerusalem and Acre; and when he returned to Italy he found that the pope had invaded his territory of Naples and had again excommunicated him.

Louis IX
of France

The Sultan of Egypt called upon some Turks from Kharasmia who had been driven out by the advancing Mongols. In 1244 the Turks took Jerusalem; they massacred a Christian army at Gaza; captured Damascus and in 1247, Ascalon. Louis IX sailed on a crusade, landed in Egypt, and was promptly captured and held for an enormous ransom. After being freed he sailed up the coast and accomplished little more than the fortification of the few Christian ports. His ransom and his lavish charities almost bankrupted France before he returned in 1254. The Venetians, Genoese and Pisans engaged in bitter commercial war, and the Latin princes and military orders continued their precious feuds. The advancing Mongols took Baghdad, Aleppo and Damascus by 1259. The Sultan Bibars of Egypt fought against them with great skill, and captured many Christian towns, the greatest of them, Antioch, in 1268. St. Louis attempted another crusade, sailed against Tunis, and died in 1270. In 1271 Bibars captured the great Krak of the Hospitallers and then reduced the principality of Tripoli to tribute. Bibars's successor, Melik-el-Ashraf, crushed the Mongols

Loss of Acre
(1291)

in 1281 and renewed the "holy war." In 1291, Acre, the last Christian stronghold, fell after a heroic resistance. The Moslems massacred sixty thousand prisoners and filled the port with the débris of the fortifications. For two hundred years more there were occasional fan-

tastic crusades, but the great movement was over. The sentiment of Europe was that of the Sieur de Joinville, who said when St. Louis asked him to join the expedition to Tunis, "while I was abroad in the king's service before, I was so impoverished that I did not think I would ever recover from it. I saw clearly that if I went on another crusade, it would be the total destruction of my property."

During the two centuries of the crusades the life of Europe was greatly altered. The papacy and the French monarchy, in particular, had grown to great power. The tremendous acceleration of travel and of commerce had aided the rise of the towns. The technique of business was improved and devices like the bill of exchange and double-entry book-keeping were introduced. Europe became acquainted with new foods like sugar, pepper, spices, apricots, peaches, cherries, dates, melons; and such luxuries as perfumes, pottery, jewelry and exquisite fabrics of cotton, linen and silk. The crusaders acquired the oriental fondness for bathing; conduits and baths were built in castle and cloister, and latrines became more common. Though only the rich could afford these new devices and products, the peasantry too profited by the crusades. The feudality needed money to travel; and the peasants purchased the abatement of many feudal "renders," and frequently even their freedom. With the departure of the violent barons, and the growth of the power of the crown, the countryside knew a peace better even than that afforded by the Truce of God. *Economic and political results of the crusades*

The intellectual results of the crusades were most striking. The West, ready at last, for things of the mind, developed an interest in strange plants and animals which led to the establishment of botanical and zoölogical gardens. Moslem science and philosophy, and Arabian translations of Greek treatises, made a tremendous impact on the mind of the West, and the actual contact of the crusaders with the cultivated Saracens dispelled prejudices and began the scientific advance which the West thereafter was to maintain. The crusades inaugurated the series of explorations and discoveries which led to the penetration of Asia, the discovery of America (1492), the rounding of the Cape of Good Hope (1498) and the discovery of a water route to India and China. "Increasing at first the power of the popes and the Roman hierarchy, the crusades tended at last to impair and diminish it. Expected to knit together the Latin and Greek churches, they made their divisions wider and added a feeling of exacerbation to their mu- *Intellectual results of the crusades*

tual relations. Intended to destroy forever Mohammedan power in the East, they really contributed to strengthen it. Undertaken as a religious war to propagate the faith of Christ with the sword of Mahomet, and to vindicate Christian dogma against unbelievers, they really subserved the interests of free thought." [1]

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[1] OWEN, *Skeptics of the Italian Renaissance,* p. 23.

CHAPTER XVI

GERMANY AND ITALY (1125–1282)

HENRY V died in 1125, without an heir. The party feeling at the election of the next king ran so high that, to avoid blood-shed, forty men—ten from each of the great stems—were chosen to elect a king; and all the feudality present, save Frederick of Hohenstaufen, duke of Swabia, bound themselves by oath to abide by the election. A clerical sympathizer, Lothair II (1125–39), duke of *Lothair II* Saxony, was elected. He had opposed Henry V throughout most of his reign, and was popular because of his victories over the Slavs. His chief supporter in the election was Henry the Proud of Bavaria, who later married his daughter. The son of this marriage was Henry the Lion, heir to the duchies of both Bavaria and Saxony and the most powerful noble in the kingdom. The angry Hohenstaufen revolted and submitted to Lothair only after several years of war.

The situation in Italy was unusually strained at this time. The Normans, who after thirty years of fighting had captured Sicily in 1090, had united their possessions of Sicily and Calabria under Roger II and had added Apulia to it, to the great alarm of the popes. In 1127 Pope Honorius II had declared some Norman estates to revert to him *The Normans* as overlord and had refused to invest Roger II with them. Roger pro- *and the* tested, the pope excommunicated him, and the two went to war. Roger *Papacy* was so successful that the pope soon was compelled to invest him with the lordship of Apulia. When Honorius died the papacy was rent by a schism. Anacletus II occupied St. Peter's and Innocent II the Lateran; each pope then proceeded to excommunicate the other and the other's partisans. In the face of the growing strength of Anacletus, Innocent II fled to France; the great monastic orders of Cluny and Citeaux and the English, French and German kings espoused his cause; and St. Bernard preached almost a crusade for him. Only Roger II recognized Anacletus, who made him king. In 1133 Lothair II and Innocent II marched upon Rome; while Anacletus remained in St. Peter's, Inno-cent crowned Lothair emperor in the Lateran. When Lothair left

Rome again Innocent II had to flee. Lothair restored him in 1137 and then was persuaded to undertake a fruitless expedition against the Normans in Lower Italy. In 1139 Lothair died and in the same year the Lateran Council repudiated the Concordat of Worms. The Church declared again that all its temporal estates were fiefs of the Holy See alone, condemned lay investiture, and implied the political sovereignty of the pope over all states and rulers. "Inasmuch as Rome is the capital of the world, from which all earthly power emanates, so likewise the papal throne is the source of all ecclesiastical authority and dignity, so that every such office or dignity is to be received at the hands of the Roman pontiff as a fief of the Holy See, without which enfeoffment no office may be lawfully enjoyed."

Conrad III

The two next contenders for the crown were Henry the Proud, the Welf duke of Bavaria and Saxony, and Conrad of Hohenstaufen, duke of Swabia. The great nobility feared that if Henry were elected the monarchy would become too strong and Conrad III (1139–52), was elected. At once a packed diet declared it illegal for a German duke to have more than one duchy. Henry refused to obey the law, which was obviously directed against him, and a civil war broke out at once. Henry the Proud died in the midst of the war; his son, later known as Henry the Lion was an infant, and the war was carried on by the boy's uncle, Welf. At the siege of Weinsburg the cries of the combatants for "Welf" or "Waiblingen," the Swabian village where Frederick of Hohenstaufen was born, became party names; and were carried to Italy as *Guelf* and *Ghibelline*. Thus were formed the first real political parties in Germany. The Guelfs wished to maintain the ancient rights and the territorial integrity of the duchies. The Ghibellines wished to erect the power of the king upon many smaller principalities and to destroy the great duchies. The war between the parties ended in 1142 with a compromise, the Guelfs retaining Saxony for the young Henry and renouncing Bavaria. Conrad III went upon the Second Crusade in 1147 and returned very ill. The Guelfs awaited his death to elect their candidate, but before his death Conrad recommended his nephew to succeed him, instead of his minor son.

Frederick I
Barbarossa

Accordingly, on the death of Conrad, Frederick I (1152–90), known as Barbarossa or Red-beard, was elected king. He was at the time thirty years of age, of middle height and well knit frame, with piercing blue eyes and ruddy complexion, red-haired, an expert horse-

man and warrior, eloquent, quick to anger, proud and with something of a taste for literature. By family he was both a Hohenstaufen and a Guelf and was cousin to Henry the Lion. Frederick first attempted to placate the Guelfs and to establish in Germany a political balance on which he could rely. He restored Bavaria to Henry the Lion and gave him almost sovereign power in both Bavaria and Saxony. To other nobles Frederick gave many lands, and sacrificed his own real power in his desire to pacify Germany at all costs.

GERMANY
UNDER THE
HOHENSTAUFEN
▨ Lands of the Welfs
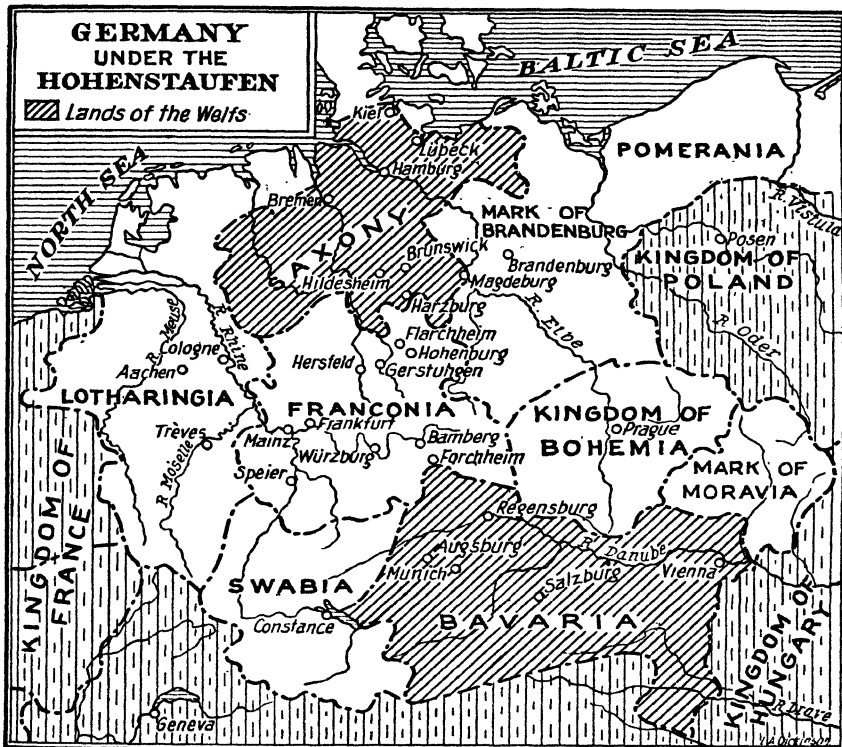
Barbarossa was swept away by the tradition of the Medieval Empire and wished to be free to pursue his designs in Italy. The struggle between emperor and pope was renewed. In the twelfth century both *Barbarossa's* emperor and pope deduced from feudal ideas vaster claims than ever. *infatuation* The papal claims to supremacy had once been rejected by the bishops; *with the imperial* by the end of the twelfth century the papacy was a super-monarchy. *tradition*

Revived study of Roman law   The revived study of Roman law also helped to increase the papal claims; the administration of the Church was much like that of the Roman Empire; and the popes claimed that they, and not the emperors, were the true successors of the Cæsars, and became imperially-minded as never before. For his part, Barbarossa claimed direct rule over Germany, the kingdoms of Burgundy and Italy, asserted the vassalage of the border nations of Bohemians, Hungarians and Poles and even of France and England. He called himself *Divus Augustus,* reminded the bishops of "the example of Constantine, Valentinian and Justinian, my predecessors," and dated his imperial prerogative not even from Cæsar, but from Romulus.

The walled towns of Lombardy   Walled towns had existed in Lombardy since the raids of the Magyars in the tenth century. By this time they had freed themselves from their feudal overlords and had become self-governing communities; a new class of society, the burghers, appeared in the merchants and artisans of the towns. The feudal lords and Frederick regarded them as merely rebellious groups of servile traders and craftsmen. Newly arisen, the cities had everything to learn of government, as there were no precedents for them. They fought bitterly with each other for the lucrative transalpine commerce and could get only far enough in developing stable relations with one another to form two hostile leagues under Milan and Pavia. They were not even united in their hatred of the Germans and neither Lothair II nor Conrad III had ever tried to suppress their wars. In 1144 the Romans in imitation of the burgher revolution in Lombardy, had set up a communal government of their own and had expelled the pope. Arnold of Brescia, a priest, advocated much the same thing that Pope Pascal II had planned in 1111; he asserted that the clergy should be stripped of their feudal powers and forced to live upon tithes alone, and that the Church should return to its condition in apostolic times. The popes had appealed in vain to Conrad III. Hadrian IV finally laid Rome under an interdict which was removed only after Arnold of Brescia was banished.

Barbarossa's first invasion of Italy   In 1154 Barbarossa crossed the Alps to crush the upstart Lombard cities, restore the papacy to Rome and be himself crowned emperor. He reduced three cities in the Lombard plain, assumed the crown of Lombardy, and marched on. He met the pope at Sutri, entered Rome with his army and was crowned emperor in June, 1155. The German army was encamped in the Neronian Field, and there it was

attacked by the furious Romans. Largely through the prowess of Henry the Lion the Romans were defeated. During the tumult Arnold of Brescia was hanged by the emperor, to the gratification of the pope. Barbarossa refused the pope's demand that he fight the Normans and the Germans retired, exhausted by fevers, from Italy. The pope vainly negotiated with Manuel I Comnenus, Byzantine Emperor, for aid against the Normans, and was finally forced to recognize the Norman investiture of Sicily and most of Lower Italy. As the treaty with the Normans was made without the consent of Barbarossa, the pope thereby greatly offended him.

In 1157 the papal chancellor, Roland Bandinelli, later Pope Alexander III, brought to Frederick at his court in Besançon a papal letter *Quarrel with* protesting against his failure to punish a Burgundian knight who had *Hadrian IV* despoiled a bishop. The letter implied all the burning issues between *and invasion* the empire and the papacy. To protect him from the violence of Frederick's indignant nobles, Bandinelli was hustled into Italy under guard and Barbarossa declared "we hold the Empire through the election of the princes from God alone . . . and whoever shall say that we hold the imperial crown as a fief from the pope . . . contradicts the teaching of St. Peter and is a liar." The German bishops and princes declared for the emperor and a national church for Germany was even suggested. Pope Hadrian IV threatened to transfer the imperial crown to Byzantium and Frederick marched into Lombardy with an enormous army. Milan, which was the greatest of all the Lombard cities, surrendered after a short siege. At the diet of Roncaglia, Barbarossa *The diet of* insisted upon his right to appoint imperial officials in the cities, to *Roncaglia* coin money, collect taxes, control the waterways and issue safe-conducts. In each city he placed an imperial official, called a *podestà*, to enforce these rights. Hadrian IV denied the emperor's jurisdiction over Tuscany, and secretly encouraged the cities to resistance. Milan and several other cities expelled the podestà, Frederick besieged and razed first Crema and then Milan itself (1162). Hadrian died and Bandinelli became Pope Alexander III. Frederick set up an antipope and Alexander thought it safest to take refuge in France. Leaving a vicar in Italy to see that German bishops were appointed in the Lombard sees, Frederick returned to Germany.

The cities again expelled the podestàs, Alexander returned to Rome and aided the Lombard cause. Frederick crossed the Alps for the

third time, in 1166, stormed Rome, and saw his army almost destroyed by an epidemic. The Lombard League appeared in 1167. Alexander III recognized it at once, as he had been instrumental in its formation; forbade any city in Lombardy to make any alliance without the permission of the league and threatened with excommunication any who did not obey. Only a handful of cities—Bologna, Pavia, Ravenna, Parma and Modena—remained Ghibelline. Without an army Frederick was impotent and in 1168 he returned to Germany.

Lombard League (1167)

Henry the Lion thought German activity in Italy was a waste of good German soldiers and money and a wrong to Italy, and opposed Frederick's autocratic attempts in Germany, and his constant splitting up of the great duchies. In his own duchies Henry reigned like a king; he even appointed his own bishops. Frederick, who could not understand how he could be emperor without Rome and Italy, gathered another army, crossed the Alps and was overwhelmingly defeated by the Lombard League in the plain around Legnano in 1176. He sent emissaries to Alexander III, who sensibly made a temperate peace. He recognized the ecclesiastical appointments made by Frederick and his antipopes; but obtained recognition of papal sovereignty and the restoration of disputed lands. Frederick delayed yielding to the cities, but he could not refuse; and in 1183 by the Peace of Constance the cities won the right to administer their own justice without appeal to the emperor, to levy their own taxes, to control the territory about them and to preserve their own customary law. South of the Alps the Holy Roman Empire was in shreds; in Lombardy the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie had defeated the armies of feudalism.

Victory of the Lombard cities at Legnano (1176)

Peace of Constance (1183)

Defeated in Italy Barbarossa attempted to assert his power in Germany. The German bishops demanded to be compensated for their losses in raising military forces for him; Frederick had long temporized with Henry the Lion; and now he gave the word for his landgreedy nobles, lay and clerical, to fall upon the great Guelf. After a desperate resistance, in 1181 Henry was beaten and was permitted to retain only the towns of Brunswick and Lüneburg. Saxony was partitioned out to lesser nobles. Except for Bavaria, by this time all the old historic duchies of Germany had crumbled to pieces. Frederick was lord of a host of petty dukes, landgraves, counts and so on—smallbeer barons, all of them. Before fifty thousand of these gentry at the diet of Mainz Frederick was flattered as the sovereign of Europe. It

Fall of Henry the Lion (1181)

was a crude magnificence; the grand banquet was held in a huge wooden hall, near which were two houses stocked from floor to ceiling with chickens, ducks and geese. At the Easter mass in the cathedral the retainers of an archbishop and an abbot fell into a brawl. But Frederick was not content: new glory had to be found, perhaps in Sicily or on a Crusade. The Norman king of Sicily, without issue and fearing papal seizure of his kingdom after his death, married his aunt to Frederick's son, afterward Henry VI. So Frederick marched off to recover Jerusalem for true believers and was drowned in Cilicia in 1190.

Henry VI (1190-7) was very much an Italian and indifferent to *Henry VI* politics in Germany. He successfully imposed his power on the Normans in Italy, who thought they had been betrayed by their late king and who resisted his authority. Pope Celestine III had no choice but to crown him emperor. Henry shared the traditional hostility of the Norman kings to the Byzantine Empire, and managed to divide Europe with the Guelf-Ghibelline feud, by holding Richard of England captive for nearly two years. But his designs were on the East. He married his brother to a daughter of a dethroned Byzantine emperor, and proclaimed a double crusade against both the infidel Moslem and the schismatic Greeks. He went to Germany to arouse enthusiasm and himself acted as a recruiting agent in the cathedral of Worms. Thousands of needy knights took the cross; but the expedition collapsed when Henry died of a fever at Palermo in 1197. Henry's heir was a little child; and in 1198 Innocent III became pope. Before considering his pontificate we must sketch the history of German Eastward expansion.

To the east the Germans had long faced the Slavonic peoples. The German churchmen were eager for converts; the German nobles were eager for new lands to support them; thousands of German peasants *German* were anxious to settle the lands. The resulting eastward expansion of *defeat of* the Germans was one of the greatest movements of the Middle Ages. *the Slavs* Unlike the Norse conquests it was a colonization of contiguous territories, largely by poor freemen, even serfs, who entered the land as pioneers. The Church and the nobles followed to establish bishoprics and monasteries and to build castles. Though the Slavs resisted bitterly, and occasionally drove all the Germans out, only to see them sweep back again, they were exhausted by the constant warfare and even their priesthood lost courage. When St. Bernard preached the Second Crusade in Germany, the Saxons declared they had a crusade

at home and received his blessing on it. The Wendish Crusade (1147) extinguished paganism and completed the German conquest. Settlers swarmed in seeking free lands. Brandenburg, Mecklenburg and Pomerania arose. The Germans controlled the mouths of the rivers into the Baltic; and Stettin, Wollin and Danzig became important points in the commerce with the Slavs. Lübeck soon rivalled Bremen and Hamburg. People from the marshes of Flanders and Holland were particularly fitted to conquer the new country of fens and marshes; and while the Saxon farmers cleared the forests, agents of the nobles brought in thousands of lowlanders also. This conquest of three-fifths of modern Germany was curiously neglected by the emperors. Diverted by their Italian wars they made no attempt to acquire crown lands beyond the Elbe. While at the end of the Hohenstaufen period old Germany dissolved into a chaos of petty, brawling states, the new states like Brandenburg and Austria displayed great strength; in the fifteenth century the great houses of Germany were the Hohenzollern in Brandenburg and the Habsburgs in Austria.

German influence in central Europe

The Bohemians, the Poles and the Hungarians were not completely subjugated by the Germans, partly because of their greater distance from Germany and partly because of their stronger political organization. They were, however, compelled to recognize German overlordship and their upper classes were greatly influenced by German culture. *Schlacta*, the Polish word for nobility, is significantly German. The administrative systems of these peoples reflected German practices and in each country the merchant class was almost entirely German or German Jewish. In every important town, Prague, Cracow, Posen, Budapest, there was a German quarter; and the higher culture of Bohemia, Poland and Hungary was almost exclusively German.

Innocent III, the supreme power in Europe

Innocent III was born in Anagni in 1161, of a noble family. He studied at Bologna and Paris and was soon noted for both his eloquence and his scholarship. His uncle, Pope Clement III, made him a cardinal. In 1198, despite his youth, he was made pope and rapidly proved himself a fit successor to Gregory VII. The great vigor and sanity of his rule quickly dispelled the widespread fear that he was too young for the heavy responsibilities of the office; and under him the papacy reached its greatest power. A man of tremendous moral force, he earnestly proclaimed the rights of the weak against oppression and

never ceased to combat abuses within the Church itself. We have already seen many of his wide-spread activities. He was the moving cause of the Fourth Crusade and of the Albigensian Crusade. Under him the power of the papacy was enlarged in the Balkan peninsula. He asserted again and again the supremacy of the papacy and made it surprisingly widely recognized. He brought about the downfall of John of England and forced Philip Augustus of France to restore Ingeborg of Denmark, whom he had married and immediately divorced, as his queen. No more than the emperors was Innocent III able to gain permanent control of the Italian cities for the papacy, but at least he became master of Rome.

Innocent had at once made himself the guardian of the young Frederick II, on the ground that the pope was the over-lord of the *Innocent III* Norman kingdom in Italy. The Hohenstaufen were unable to elect *and* Frederick, both because he was a child and because he was the ward *Frederick II* of Innocent. They therefore elected Philip of Swabia, Barbarossa's youngest son. Innocent recognized the Guelf candidate, Otto IV of Brunswick, a son of Henry the Lion. Philip was soon assassinated in a brawl and Otto was crowned emperor. But he abandoned the historic Guelf policy and tried to incorporate Sicily and Lower Italy into the Empire. Innocent thereupon absolved the German nobles of their allegiance to Otto, declared Frederick II emperor and another civil war broke out. Philip of France, partly to placate the pope for his divorce of Ingeborg, allied himself with Innocent. John of England supported Otto who was his nephew. Thus the Guelf-Ghibelline feud involved most of Europe. The Guelf forces lost the battle *The battle of* of Bouvines (1214) and Innocent III was master of Europe. *Bouvines (1214)*

Frederick II was twenty years old. At the arrangement of Innocent he had already married Constance, daughter of the king of Aragon and widow of the king of Hungary, and had a son, Henry. To weaken the imperial power by dividing it, Innocent required Frederick to renounce Sicily in favor of his son, who was to be king under the papacy. Frederick refused to separate Sicily from the Norman kingdom, but acknowledged its vassalage to the papacy, promised liberty of church elections and pledged himself to go on a crusade. The Lombard League had fallen apart and the towns were again at war. Innocent interfered to enforce peace. He told the Tuscan towns that they could form no political association without papal support

and demanded recognition of the political authority of the papacy. The towns protested and Innocent occupied the frontier towns of Tuscany and Spoleto with papal troops, forced the cities to take an oath of fidelity to the papacy and compelled Frederick II to ratify the oath. In the March of Ancona and the Romagna he used the same methods. He thus reconquered the patrimony of St. Peter and when he died in 1216 he probably believed in the peaceful permanence of his political arrangements.

Frederick II had no mind to abandon the Hohenstaufen tradition, but he wisely saw that it was less practicable to continue a union of Germany and Italy than a union of Italy and Sicily. His reign therefore has practically separate parts in his actions in Italy and in Germany. Frederick's claims could not fail to embroil him with the papacy and the Lombard cities. He was not hostile to burghers as a class, but he wished the cities to have the status of his Sicilian towns. In 1226 the city-leagues were revived and Frederick at once outlawed thirteen of them. A year later he rescinded the sentence and left for Germany. Then he went upon his crusade. While he was away on the crusade papal troops invaded the territory around Naples and mendicant friars instigated the towns to insurrection. On his return Frederick found Italy seething with revolt; but badly defeated the Lombard League at Cortenuova in 1237. He extended to Italy the kind of government he had established in Sicily; Italy had not experienced such a government since the days of Justinian. But the rival claims of pope and emperor could not be harmonized and in 1239 Gregory IX excommunicated Frederick. In reply Frederick declared that his cause was that of every king in Europe; and both Louis IX of France and Henry III of England expressed sympathy for him. In Italy the friars everywhere inflamed the people against an heretic emperor, and the civil war was most ferocious. The countryside was desolated; the peasants farmed under the protection of armed guards. Wolves became so numerous in the abandoned country that they even invaded towns at night and devoured the homeless people sleeping in the porticoes. The pope summoned a council at Rome and Frederick's navy intercepted the ships bearing the delegates and thus captured a church council. Pope Gregory IX died and a deadlock in the college of cardinals occurred. At the intercession of Louis IX, Frederick released the captured cardinals so that a papal election could be completed. The new

Frederick II and Gregory IX

pope, Innocent IV, was a most implacable foe of the empire and the war continued. The pope fled to France and declared Frederick deposed. Frederick replied with an "Appeal to the Sovereigns of Europe." In 1250, as he was about to march on Rome, Frederick died.

Frederick II, "the first modern man," was a forerunner of the great organizing monarchs of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. He broke the insubordinate baronage, recovered usurped crown lands, razed private castles, repopulated waste regions, revised the statutes and reorganized the system of taxation. In 1231 he proclaimed the theory of absolute monarchy in Sicily. His new code embodied mostly *The reforms of Frederick II* the spirit of the Roman law. Women were permitted to inherit feudal estates. Fines for offenses, which according to the old German codes were graduated according to the social status of the offender, were annulled and uniform penalties were established. Trials by ordeal and by battle were abolished. Defendants were to have formal counsel; indictment was to be formal and written; judges were not to be counts or barons but trained legists. He respected social distinctions, however, and safeguarded the status of the Norman aristocracy. A special penal tariff provided for injuries done to noble persons by their inferiors or their equals; and a feudal noble, even a simple knight, had the right to be tried by his peers. Old feudal services were transformed into money payments. Assessments were based on carefully devised land registers or upon the officially determined receipts of the burghers. Harbor dues and tariffs on the enormous commerce of the ports gave *The passing of feudalism under Frederick II* great revenues. Government monopolies on salt-making, mining, and silk-manufacturing were very profitable. All fiscal operations were centralized in a *doana*, or treasury board, on which Norman officials predominated. Frederick inaugurated great material improvements in Lower Italy and Sicily. Swamps were drained; vineyards and fruit orchards were set out; dates, indigo, cotton, sugar and improved strains of live stock were introduced. Serfdom and internal tolls were abolished. Commercial treaties were negotiated with the Italian maritime republics and with the sultans of Egypt and Tunis.

During his entire life Frederick II was in Germany only three times. The hearty dislike he had acquired of cities and burghers led him to sacrifice the German towns to win the support of the churchmen and the feudal nobles. He mortgaged the toll-houses on the Rhine, chiefly to benefit the Rhenish bishops. He gave mintage and toll-rights prodi-

gally to the nobility. For the temporary aid of the bishops he greatly weakened the power of the crown by making many bishops free territorial proprietors and independent of the crown. When his son, Henry, regent in Germany, rebelled in 1234 and sought the aid of the towns, Frederick bribed the bishops with gold from Sicily and relaxed some of the measures burdensome to the towns. Henry was defeated and imprisoned, and Conrad IV, the second son, was made king in his stead.

Frederick attempted to strengthen the eastern frontier of Germany against the Mongols, who were then invading Russia. The Grand Master of the Teutonic Order was granted the territory of the heathen Preussen. German colonization in the east was again encouraged; and within two years Thorn, Kulm and Marienwerder were founded as an outlet for German settlers and as a kind of mark to protect the border. Frederick also strengthened Brandenburg and Austria. Though the Mongols, bursting through Poland, defeated the German and Polish armies at Wahlstatt in 1241 and then retired voluntarily, the wisdom of Frederick's efforts was amply shown.

But the efforts of Frederick II to arrange a peaceful settlement in Germany were futile. While he was fighting the papacy so bitterly in Italy, the archbishops of Mainz, Cologne and Trier revolted against Conrad IV and put up a counter-king, the first of a long list of pretenders to the throne. Conrad died in 1254; and as during the next twenty years no one in Germany managed to be recognized as emperor, the period is called the *Interregnum*. Though the imperial title was empty of real power, a swarm of aspirants arose for it, both in and out of Germany. In the violent years of the Interregnum the progress of the towns was the most important development. Most of them had become free city-states. Increasing trade and industry brought increasing population and wealth; and though their internal politics were often violent, the city folk stood resolutely together against outside interference with their affairs. As early as 1226 Frankfort, Gelnhausen and Friedburg united to suppress robber barons. Hamburg and Lübeck then joined forces for the same purpose. In 1253 several towns in Westphalia united; and a year later the League of the Rhine was established by Mainz, Cologne, Worms, Strassburg and lesser towns, and a "peace" which was almost a constitution was declared. Shortly Hamburg and Lübeck were joined by Rostock and Wismar, and the great Hanseatic League was begun.

The Lombard and Tuscan cities, on the death of Frederick II, relapsed into their trade wars and internal factional rivalries. In 1260 the Ghibellines of Florence defeated the Guelfs, and Manfred, Frederick's son, thought he might restore Hohenstaufen power in Italy. The pope put an interdict upon the Ghibelline cities and, fearful that Manfred would march upon Rome, offered the crown of Naples and Sicily to Charles of Anjou, younger brother of Louis IX. Over the protest of Louis, Charles accepted and led an army into Italy. Manfred was defeated and killed, and the French occupied Lower Italy and Sicily. They imposed French officials everywhere, levied enormous taxes, and exiled many of the Sicilian nobles, most of whom went to Aragon. The Ghibellines rallied around Conradin, the son of Conrad IV, and the only living Hohenstaufen. At the head of a small army Conradin marched into Italy and was defeated by Charles. Conradin was captured, imprisoned for more than a year, and then, in 1268, he was beheaded. So died the last of the Hohenstaufens. *Charles of Anjou and the kingdom of Naples*

The Sicilians were restless under French rule and the Aragonese were uneasy at the establishment of a French kingdom in the middle of the Mediterranean. A great conspiracy was organized to overthrow the French. On the Tuesday after Easter, 1282, all Sicily rose against them in the massacre of the Sicilian Vespers; in Palermo alone eight thousand French were killed. The French fleet attacked Messina and was destroyed by the fleet of Aragon. Charles appealed to Philip III of France and the pope declared the king of Aragon deposed and offered the crown to the second son of Philip III. France and Aragon went to war, and Philip died before Perpignan in 1285. Three years later Charles died. Aragon retained Sicily and became a great commercial and maritime power. The house of Anjou kept only its possessions on the mainland of Italy; the animosity between France and Aragon lasted well into modern times. *The Sicilian Vespers*

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CHAPTER XVII

ENGLAND FROM THE CONQUEST TO 1272

W̶ILLIAM THE CONQUEROR brought to England the same tremendous energy and executive ability which marked the Normans elsewhere. It is hard to exaggerate the great effects of his conquest and of Norman influence in English history. He suppressed local risings, ruthlessly put down a rebellion in the north of England and by 1070 had established a stronger royal authority than the country had yet seen. In 1086 he enforced a census of the hundreds which, known as the Domesday Book, gave him more accurate information about his kingdom than any medieval king had ever possessed and which has been a mine of historical information ever since. An inchoate feudal system had obtained under the Saxons, but William organized a vigorous feudal government. He confiscated the lands of the Saxon nobles who opposed him and parcelled them out to his Norman adherents in small grants so that no one noble had a large and compact block of territory. He compelled the vassals of his great lords to swear allegiance directly to him, and so further reduced the power of the great nobility. But as he maintained the customary local courts of the Saxons, most of the natives simply changed masters. His council, the *curia regis,* was similar to the old witan, but as it was composed of nobles who held land directly of him, it was a feudal body. To supplement the large council, which met intermittently, he maintained a smaller council which was almost permanent and introduced a new permanent official, the *justiciar,* as the chief of the judicial system.

William the Conqueror

In spite of the aid he had received from the papacy he refused the demand of Gregory VII that he swear allegiance to the pope and hold England as a papal fief. He forbade the publication of papal bulls, the excommunication of his great nobles or even the recognition of a new pope without his permission, and in the face of papal indignation he appointed bishops and abbots in England. But William mollified the Church in one particular. Hitherto the local courts had tried laymen for ecclesiastical offenses. William gave to the ecclesiastical courts their

Conflict with the Church

William and the Church

own jurisdiction. Yet he strengthened the Church in England. He appointed Lanfranc, the famous prior of the monastery of Bec, to be archbishop of Canterbury, aided him to enforce the Hildebrandine reforms and encouraged monasticism and the founding of new schools under Norman teachers.

For a long time after the Conquest French was the court language. When the speech of the people at length replaced it at the end of the *Cultural* fourteenth century, English was almost a new language. Old Saxon *effects of* words had been dropped, a new French vocabulary had been added, the *the Norman* *Conquest* old inflections had disappeared and English became a supple and vigorous medium, fit for use by the greatest of poets. The coming of the Normans greatly increased the relations between England and the Continent, created a demand in England for many new commodities and thus greatly stimulated commerce. And the Normans brought with them their enthusiasm for building great castles and churches in their own Norman Romanesque architecture, later to change into the lovely and individual English Gothic.

William II (1087–1100) had his father's imperious will but not his essential fairness. His confiscation of church revenues threatened a *William II* conflict with the Church which was stayed for a while by Lanfranc's *and Anselm* death. Anselm, the next archbishop of Canterbury, was a gentle soul chiefly interested in scholastic theology. But he, too, asserted inflexibly the superiority of the Church over the civil authority, and his conflict with William II lapsed only when Anselm, in weariness, went into voluntary exile. William II continued his headstrong course until an arrow shot by an unknown person killed him while he was hunting.

Robert, duke of Normandy and the Conqueror's eldest son, was away on the First Crusade when William II was killed and Henry, the youngest son, assumed the crown of England as Henry I (1100– *Henry I and* 1135). At Henry I's invitation Anselm returned to England, but he *Anselm* refused to do homage for the fiefs of the archbishopric and to consecrate the bishops Henry had appointed. A genuine compromise was impossible between the conflicting claims of Church and State, but a working compromise was effected whereby the king was to receive homage for the temporal fiefs of the prelates and to give up his right to invest them with the insignia of their offices. But as the crown still largely controlled the election of bishops, it could still practically dic-

tate the election of the archbishop, and the gains of the Church were nominal at best.

Henry I, an excellent administrator, maintained strict order in England and further centralized the government. The *curia regis,* when it sat as a committee of finances, became the Exchequer. The sheriffs who collected the feudal dues of the king, appeared before it semi-annually to have their accounts audited and to make their payments. Henry appointed members of the *curia regis* to travel about the country as itinerant justices. These justices, by supervising the local sheriffs and by transacting other royal business as they traveled, strengthened Henry's power over the local authorities; and gradually the work of these courts built up a uniform body of law which replaced the old customary laws which varied from shire to shire.

Henry I secured the consent of his barons to the succession of his daughter Matilda, whom he married to Geoffrey, the powerful count of Anjou. When Henry I died in 1135, a contested succession arose between their son Henry Plantagenet and Stephen, count of Blois, a son of the Conqueror's daughter Adela. England was plunged into civil war. This disastrous period is known in English history as the "anarchy." Young Henry came to England to lead his own adherents, whereupon Stephen recognized him as the heir to the throne and Henry in turn recognized him as king. When Stephen died in 1154 Henry II became king.

Henry II (1154–89) is one of the greatest figures of English history. Physically he was not impressive: he had red hair, a freckled face, a stout body, long arms and bowed legs. But he had a clear mind, an iron will, great ambition and tremendous energy which drove him physically to rapid visits from one end of his dominions to another and mentally to a ceaseless and skilled occupation with the royal business. As from his parents he inherited Normandy, Maine, Anjou and Touraine, and as by marrying Eleanor the daughter of the duke of Aquitaine he acquired Gascony and Guienne, the kingdom of England was but a minor part of his lands.

In England he restored order, forbade the nobles to occupy fortified castles without his consent and destroyed many castles which had been erected during the reign of Stephen. He replaced the sheriffs by royal officers who would not be so subject to local influence and extended the jurisdiction of his courts to many kinds of suits hitherto

tried in the baronial courts. He appointed five members of the *curia regis* as members of a permanent superior court to try other than the money cases which were tried before the Court of the Exchequer. This is the origin of the Court of King's Bench. Most important of all, Henry II extended the use of the sworn inquest which the Normans had adopted in France and which the Conqueror had used to force from the Saxons the information he wanted for the Domesday Book. Acting as individuals, men were frequently unwilling to prefer the charges necessary in criminal cases. Twelve men sworn collectively to tell what they knew of local crimes were more likely to be effective than one; in this sworn inquest is the origin of our grand jury. Henry II was not enthusiastic about the accuracy of the ordeal in the determination of guilt; later it fell into disuse and a jury was used both to make the preliminary investigations in criminal cases and to determine guilt. Thus the petty jury originated. *The sworn inquest*

Henry II was least successful in dealing with the powers of the clergy. During the reign of Stephen the Church had greatly extended its power and the renewed study of Roman and canon law on the continent had emphasized the power of clerical courts, already granted their independence by the Conqueror. The clergy now insisted more strongly than ever upon their right to be tried only by church courts. Henry appointed to the archbishopric of Canterbury his friend and most efficient and trusted chancellor, Thomas Becket, probably hoping thereby to control the Church as William I did with the aid of Lanfranc. But Becket, once he was persuaded to take the position, became an eager advocate of church supremacy. Almost immediately Henry II quarreled with him over the acquittal by a clerical court of a canon accused of murder. Becket had agreed before his elevation, to abide by the "ancient customs of the realm"; but when Henry issued the Constitutions of Clarendon (1164) and set forth precisely the relations of royal and clerical courts, though Becket did not deny them to be the ancient customs he nevertheless asserted that canon law took precedence over them. He reluctantly took an oath to abide by the Constitutions and then obtained from Pope Alexander III a dispensation releasing him from the oath and continued his resistance to Henry. At length, rather than resist further, he went to France. *Henry II and Becket*

After six years of negotiations Henry II and Becket effected a reconciliation which did not mention the Constitutions of Clarendon

and Becket returned to England. There he at once excommunicated several bishops who had sided with the king. When Henry learned of Becket's actions he burst into a violent rage and cried out against his cowardly knights who, living at his court, would not avenge him upon "this turbulent priest." Four of his knights took his angry words in earnest, crossed the Channel and murdered Becket in his own cathedral at Canterbury. The brutality of the murder and the discovery that Becket, the august prelate, mortified himself by wearing a hair shirt and by self-scourgings, made a popular martyr and saint of him. Henry II was forced to yield before the storm of opinion; to escape excommunication he swore that he had no part in the guilt of the murder and further agreed to respect the benefit of clergy and to permit cases to be appealed to the papal court. Though he was later able in practice to restore some of the regulations of the Constitutions of Clarendon, throughout the Middle Ages criminous clerks were tried before their own courts.

Murder of Becket and victory of the Church (1170)

Henry II's foreign relations also were not so successful as his internal administration of England. He forced the Welsh, who had asserted their independence during the reign of Stephen, to do homage to him in the north of Wales and to recognize crown authority in the south. In Ireland the Earl of Pembroke conquered a strip of territory extending from Dublin to Cork called the Pale. But Henry's efforts to maintain order even among his barons in Ireland were futile; the barons, refusing to unite in a common government, plundered and harried the Irish and began the long turbulence which has marked English efforts to control the neighboring island.

Wars in Wales and Ireland

In France, where Henry spent much time, he was forced to put down first the feudal nobles who revolted at the instigation of Louis VII and Philip Augustus, and then revolts of his own sons. In 1173 his sons Henry, Richard and Geoffrey, together with barons in France and England, revolted simultaneously. Henry II defeated the barons in England and captured the king of Scotland, who was aiding them, and forced him to become a vassal of the English crown. He effected a reconciliation with his sons and restored them. Geoffrey and Henry died soon afterwards. But in 1188, when at last Henry II's tremendous energy had burnt itself out and he was an old and broken man, Richard again joined forces with Philip Augustus, defeated Henry and imposed his demands upon his father. The weary king

Revolts of his sons and death of Henry II

then learned that his son John, who had hitherto remained faithful to him, also had turned rebel and two days later he died.

Richard I (1189–99), "a splendid savage," conceived of the ideal *Richard I* knightly life as a continuous fight according to the rules of chivalry and against any available opponent. During the ten years of his reign he was in England twice, each time for only a few months and each time to raise money. After his coronation, which was made bloody by the massacre of Jews who came to bring him gifts, he departed on the Third Crusade with Philip Augustus. As we have seen in the chapter on the Crusades, he promptly fell out with his ally. On his return to England Richard stayed only long enough to raise money for a war against Philip, sailed for France and there fought heroically to save his provinces in France from being over-run by the French. He was mortally wounded in storming a castle in Limousin, and died in 1199.

John (1199–1216) had failed miserably as Lord of Ireland and we *John and* have already seen how Philip Augustus in 1204 wrested from him all *Innocent III* the Angevin territories in France except Guienne and Gascony. Cruel, treacherous, unstable and capable of only spasmodic bursts of energy, John through his very faults was one of the most important kings of England. To avoid royal interference in their elections the clergy of the cathedral of Canterbury secretly elected a new archbishop and sent him to Rome to be confirmed in his position. Meanwhile John had appointed another. When the two candidates appeared in Rome Innocent III quashed both nominations and appointed Stephen Langton. John refused to accept him and maintained himself in the face of a papal interdict upon England and his own excommunication by exacting from his nobles the hostages of their children, and by cruelly murdering a priest who sympathized with Innocent as an example to the rest of his subjects. But by his constant brutality and unscrupulousness John offended all classes of Englishmen and at length he was maintained only by his mercenaries. Innocent III, aware of John's precarious position, finally declared him deposed, absolved his subjects from allegiance to him, and designated Philip Augustus as king. Faced by his restless baronage at home and by an invasion of Philip's armies, John at last yielded to Innocent III, accepted Langton, restored the lands he had confiscated from the clergy, did homage to Innocent III for the kingdom of England and promised that the crown of England

would pay the pope a thousand marks annually as a sign of feudal subservience.

John then entered the great alliance which had been formed against Philip Augustus by the emperor Otto IV and the count of Flanders, and after his barons refused to aid him, sailed for Flanders with a force of mercenaries. But Philip defeated John's allies, at the battle of Bouvines (July 27, 1214) in Flanders. John returned home again and demanded another heavy tax to pay for his expedition. The barons now joined forces and presented to him a list of their demands. John delayed answering them until he found that he could wheedle neither the clergy nor the city of London into supporting him. The barons then occupied London and John, impotent, was forced to affix the royal seal to the Great Charter at Runnymede on June 15, 1215.

The Great Charter

The Great Charter was less a new document than a formulation of old rights. It simply stated the ancient liberties of the kingdom.

The Great Charter was not a document to guarantee popular liberties as we understand the term. The villeins, who at the time probably comprised more than three-fourths of the population of England, are not mentioned at all, and as their greatest abuses were the impositions of their manorial lords the detailed improvements of relations between king and subject could not very well affect them very closely. The Charter was really a detailed statement of the ancient liberties, principally of the barons. The Church was to be guaranteed "its rights entire and its liberties uninjured," particularly in the canonical election of bishops. Except on the capture of the king, the knighting of his eldest son and the marriage of his eldest daughter, the king was not to levy a scutage except by the consent of the council. The king was to cease various abuses in connection with his technical feudal privileges over heirs and wards. London and other towns were guaranteed in their ancient rights and privileges and merchants were to be allowed to enter the kingdom and carry on their business without molestation. Property seized for public use was to be compensated for. The court of common pleas was not to follow the king as he moved about the country but to remain fixed at Westminster. Witnesses must bring indictments, and rumors and suspicion were not sufficient to cause indictment. The harshness of the forest laws was to be mitigated. Fines and other penalties were to be reasonably in proportion to the seriousness of offenses.

The most important single provisions were two. Clause XXXIX provided that "No freeman shall be arrested, or detained in prison or deprived of his freehold, or outlawed, or banished, or in any way molested, and we will not set forth against him, nor send against him, unless by the lawful judgment of his peers and by the law of the land." Clause XL provided that "To no one will we sell, to no one will we deny or delay right or justice." The first of these could not of course provide a jury trial for every one, and possibly the barons attempted by this provision to exempt themselves from the jurisdiction of the royal courts. And the second provision was not made truly effective until centuries later, when the writ of *habeas corpus* was developed to force the authorities to show legal cause for holding any one in prison. But as mechanisms were developed to enforce these provisions, their future importance was immense. Most important of all was the tacit implication in the Charter that the king himself was subservient to law. Feudal law was essentially a contract in which mutual rights and duties were defined between the parties to the contract. Though the barons were unable to devise a satisfactory mechanism to provide for the enforcing of the law against the king, and though the theory of the subservience of the king to the law was frequently forgotten, it was ultimately remembered and made a cardinal part of the great British Constitution.

But neither John nor the nobles were of a mind to observe the Charter. The northern barons began to attack the royal lands. John appealed to the pope, now on his side, and obtained their excommunication, and with his mercenaries continued the civil war until, the next year, he died suddenly from eating too many green peaches and drinking too much new cider.

Henry III (1216–72), John's son, was only nine years old. For a time England was ruled by a group of able barons and prelates, but when Henry III himself began to rule the country again suffered from a weak government. The papacy filled ecclesiastical positions with Italians and a steady stream of gold flowed from England to the papal treasury, to the great indignation of Englishmen, clergy included. The king was the ready tool of his favorites and seemed unable to curb his general extravagance or his foolish and costly military schemes. Under the encouragement of Peter des Roches, Henry III's former tutor, a swarm of Poitevins came to England and for their pains were rewarded with sinecures in the government. After Henry III's marriage

Henry III and his favorites

to the daughter of the count of Provence, another swarm of foreigners from Provence and Savoy found rewards for their merits at the expense of the English. Henry spent much money in bribes to have his brother Richard elected German emperor and undertook to finance a papal war upon the king of Sicily with the pope's promise that Henry's second son would be given the kingdom. In 1258 Henry turned to Parliament, as the great council was now beginning to be called, for more money.

Simon de Montfort

He was forced to dismiss all foreigners and to accept the Oxford "Provisions of Parliament" that a committee of barons rather than the king should rule the country and that his ministers should be responsible to Parliament. Under their great leader Simon de Montfort, the barons for a time ruled the country, and even Henry's son Edward sided with them. The wars with France were officially ended by a sensible treaty in 1259 and various abuses were stopped. Factions soon broke out again, and after de Montfort defeated the forces which gathered about the king, the famous Parliament of 1265 was called, in which the towns were represented for the first time. In the same year, however, various disgruntled barons broke away, as did prince Edward, and de Montfort was slain. Though the cause of the barons was lost, they had for the time broken the power of absolutism. Edward thereafter really ruled the country in his father's name until he went on a crusade. While he was away from the country his father died and he became Edward I of England.

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CHAPTER XVIII

THE CHURCH AND THE PAPAL MONARCHY

GREGORY VII (1073–85) had claimed temporal supremacy over kings. In the pontificate of Alexander III (1159–81) the encroachment of Rome upon the "law and customs of the realms" was widely complained of. Archbishop Thomas Becket, sustained by Alexander III, declared that "no law of man is of any validity against the law of God or the liberties of the Church." Innocent III (1198–1216) made the papal claim of temporal supremacy largely a reality. He was the spiritual and temporal head of Europe. Let us examine the organization, beliefs and methods of the papacy which gave it so vast an influence. *Growth of*

As the vicar of Christ, the pope was the source of all spiritual law and spiritual power. He was not only bishop of Rome, but the overlord of all the bishops, who were vassals of the Holy See. The pope claimed the right, if not of choosing, at least of confirming the bishops and the abbots. His jurisdiction became an appellate jurisdiction to that of the bishop: the pope received appeals and in certain affairs became a court of first instance. He had the right of absolution and of dispensation; he conferred vacant benefices; and finally made his influence felt through the papal legates. The decree of 1179, established *College of* a written ballot and a two-thirds vote for election of the pope by the *cardinals* college of cardinals.

The pope exercised a legislative power, and renewed the general councils. They were ordinarily convened at Rome (the five Lateran *Councils* councils, 1123, 1139, 1179, 1198, 1215). The pope not only convoked and presided over the council, but he framed its decision; the council simply solemnized the act by its presence. The decisions of the councils (*canones*) were nothing but decrees of the popes. The composition of the third and fourth Lateran councils, 1179 and 1198, indicates the papal mastery over Europe. In the Fourth Council there were nearly a thousand clergy present from Italy, Germany, France, England, Spain, the Holy Land and the minor countries of Latin Christendom,

like Hungary, Poland, Denmark, Norway and Scotland. In the Fifth Lateran Council there were more than four hundred bishops and eight hundred abbots and priors (note the preponderance of the monastic clergy), besides representatives of the temporal princes, the Emperor (Frederick II), the Emperor of the Latin Empire of Constantinople, the King of Jerusalem and every other crowned head in Europe.

Ecclesiastical courts and privileges

Every bishop had his own court or curia, with judges chosen from the clergy who had specially studied the canon law, assisted by a personnel of clerks and notaries. The competence of this tribunal was fixed and extended. First, the clergy could be tried only by the ecclesiastical court; they claimed this right even in civil processes. The clergy, moreover, included not only those who exercised priestly office (major orders), but also those who were in minor orders, even a great number of married men who simply wore the tonsure. Thus an enormous class claimed exemption from ordinary criminal justice. When the same rights were given to the crusaders and pilgrims, this class greatly increased. In the second place, church courts had criminal jurisdiction over laymen in crimes of an ecclesiastical character, such as witchcraft, heresy, usury and violations of morality. Finally, it had civil jurisdiction over laymen in other processes that concerned the Church, such as marriage and divorce, civil status, testament and oath. Thus organized, the church courts were more frequented than the lay courts and exercised over laymen not merely moral, but material power. Legal procedure on the Continent, though not in England, was derived from the canon law.

Civil and criminal jurisdiction over laity

Church property and the clergy might be taxed for secular purposes only with the consent of the pope. The Church asserted its freedom from the power of the State, even the right to dispose of persons and property not its own. It declared the property of heretics confiscated to the Church, not to the governments, but allowed lay princes to enslave heretics. In the council of 1215 all temporal rulers were called upon to take an oath to protect the Church in person and property, on pain of having their vassals released from fealty to them by the pope, or excommunication of them, or the imposition of the interdict upon their territories.

Heretics

The ordinary courts of the bishoprics were too busy to discover and judge heretics. Pope Innocent III therefore began the creation of ex-

traordinary commissions to proceed against heresy; and shortly the Inquisition was established, and little by little placed above the juris- *Inquisition* diction of the bishops. Commissions of men from the new order of Dominicans superseded the bishop. In those cases of heresy where death was prescribed, the commissions instructed the local lay authorities to inflict the penalty, as the Church itself could not inflict the sentence. As the Inquisition was a revolutionary tribunal created to conserve the Church, the procedure of the inquest was devised to permit it to work with great speed. Once accused or suspected, a person could be imprisoned immediately, to be tried at the convenience of the inquisitors. The name of the informer was at first kept secret, to shield him from the vengeance of the relatives of the accused. Later, however, the accused was told the name of his accuser; but he frequently knew nothing of the nature of the evidence against him. To extort satisfactory statements, the inquisitors frequently resorted to torture; released from torture the accused was then asked to sign the statement he had made under duress; if he refused to sign he might be tortured again. Once suspected of heresy, a person was rarely absolved. If he abjured his heresy, he was sentenced to various penances—making a pilgrimage, or wearing a public badge of his disgrace—or perhaps to life imprisonment. If the Inquisition was severe, it was no worse than lay courts of the time—though the lay courts did not profess to represent a merciful God, of course. But to the pious of the time, a heretic was worse than our modern disease carriers to us: the one causes others to fall ill in body; the other threatened the eternal salvation of all he talked with. And the most notorious excesses of the Inquisition occurred when it was practically an instrument of the State, as in Spain. There were inquisitional commissions in every country in Europe save England and Scandinavia. At the same time that the Inquisition was established the council of 1225 rendered obligatory a practice *Confessional* hitherto optional, confession to the parish priest.

These changes solidly established the government of the clergy over the laity through permanent institutions: official jurisdiction, civil state, auricular confession, the mendicant orders and the Inquisition. Church organization was strongest and most complete in southern countries. By exterminating heretics, the Church enforced religious uniformity and obedience. The changes in church government revolutionized the position of the clergy. A federal aristocratic government

by bishops was replaced by the absolute monarchy of the pope, common to all Catholic countries, and regarding itself as superior to the lay sovereigns of the independent states. By 1200 the Roman Church was the ancient Roman Empire consecrated by biblical authority.

Papal revenues

In the thirteenth century the power and the revenue of the papacy surpassed that of all the monarchies of Europe together. Peter's pence, tithes, conferment of benefices, annates or first-fruits—the whole revenue of a diocese during the first year of a new bishop was exacted as a fee for appointment—fees required for the hearing of causes appealed to the curia, "reserved" cases—that is, cases of immediate papal jurisdiction—dispensations or waivers by papal authority of the prohibitions of the canon law—for example, to permit marriage within prohibited degrees, to allow pluralities, or the right of a cleric to hold more than one ecclesiastical office (John Mansell, chancellor of Henry III of England, held seventeen church offices at the same time)—the taxes of the papal penitentiary, exemptions, swelled the papal revenue beyond anything medieval Europe had seen before. English statistics indicate the ability of the papal authority to collect revenues. In 1229 Gregory IX demanded of the kingdom a tenth of all revenues, lay and ecclesiastical, to enable him to carry on the war with Frederick II. The laity declined to contribute; the clergy yielded with reluctance. Eleven years later a fifth of all movables, lay and clerical, was demanded. This time the laity yielded and the papal legate carried away half the ready cash in the realm. At the Council of Lyons in 1245 the English prelates complained that not less than sixty thousand marks, an enormous sum for the time, were annually taken from England by the pope's fiscal agents.

Episcopal administration

The bishop had a most important place in the church administrative system. Let us first consider his relations with his subject clergy. (1) Of the several ranks of clergy under the bishop, he was most intimately connected with the chapter. The cathedral chapter was the bishop's council. Its members were appointed by the bishop, generally on consultation with the body itself. The chapter of Notre-Dame de Paris in the second half of the twelfth century consisted of seven dignitaries:

Deacons

a dean, a cantor, three archdeacons, an under-cantor and a chancellor, together with a number of canons holding prebends or regular incomes. The chapter had a large degree of freedom from the bishop and was usually found contesting for increased rights. The bishop's

rights over it virtually ended with the appointment of its members
when vacancies occurred. The chapter in turn had the chief part in
the election of the bishop. It was presided over by a dean, chosen by
itself from among its own number. The chapter had to be consulted by
the bishop in all serious business, executive and judicial. From the be-
ginning of the eleventh century it had its own feudal holdings, with
which the bishop had nothing to do, and it usually controlled a number
of benefices within the diocese.

(2) Next note the bishop's relations with the archdeacons. The
office of the archdeacon arose after Charlemagne cut up the dioceses
into *decaniæ,* and the archdeacon was first merely the chief deacon. *Archdeacons*
He was to direct the other deacons, aid the management of the church
revenues. A number of archdeacons was in every cathedral chapter,
and they often led the opposition to the bishop in it. They tended to
assume rights which by canon law belonged to the bishop, as, for
example, those of instituting and installing lower clergy, largely be-
cause of the delegation of such duties when a bishop was too busy to
perform them himself. The archdeacons were the natural delegates
to be appointed, and they began to assume these functions as their own
ex officio. Similarly they encroached on the bishop's right of visitation
and assumed considerable powers of discipline and jurisdiction. These
aggressions were mitigated by the decrees of popes in the twelfth cen-
tury (1165, 1188). At that time there was in most dioceses a chronic
state of strife between the bishop and these unmanageable officials—a
strife which ended in the following century with the decay of the arch-
deaconate.

(3) The Church had contact with the laity mainly through the
parish clergy. A parish, the most elementary division of a diocese, *Parishes*
was a territory whose inhabitants worshiped in one church edifice.
Though often contested, in theory the bishop's rights over the parish
and its clergy were very full. He could create new limits, modify the
existing limits, unite or dismember the parochial territories. By the
beginning of this period, however, the division into parishes was vir-
tually complete and the bishop had to do with their maintenance
only. The parishes were urban or rural. Large cities had a number of
them; the rural parishes usually centered in a manorial village. The
lord of the manor, having founded the local church as patron, and as *Right of*
controller of the parish revenues, had the right of advowson or pres- *advowson*

entation of the "living." This authority was often grossly abused. "The advowson of a church was looked on as a matter of private property which could be granted, sold, divided or unjustly occupied in exactly the same way as any other property." The Cluny reform, while it remedied the gravest abuses of feudal interference with ecclesiastical appointments in the higher offices of the Church, never touched this evil and it remained a constant privilege of the feudality throughout the Middle Ages. The feudality everywhere refused to renounce the right of patronage, and the Church yielded. Indeed, the right of advowson still survives in England, where the lord of the manor has the right of presentation of the living, but without spiritual control over the appointment.

Vestry

Parish priests

The religious head of the parish was the priest. With him was associated a *fabrica* or administrative and financial board. This board consisted of laymen and seems to have been chosen by the parishioners. The parish priests were universally drawn from the common people, and many were of servile birth, who, as children in a local school, had attracted attention by their ability, been given freedom (for a priest could not be a serf), and finally taken holy orders. But, in view of their lineage and environment (for their parishioners, except in towns, were serf peasants), they were but little above the membership of their church. They possessed the mere rudiments of education and often could not read, but recited the services by rote, sometimes making absurd blunders, unperceived by their hearers, since the whole service was in Latin. In addition to their general ignorance, many parish priests were lax morally and given to drunkenness, although we must discount the more violent accusations against them for public opinion, owing partly to the profession itself, partly to the superior religious pretensions of monasticism, tended to expect an impossible standard of the priesthood. The lowest among rural priests probably were those attached to manorial parishes. But most of them must always have been honest, simple, hard-working and sincere men, serving God and humanity to the best of their ability.

Pastoral duties of the bishop

The bishop's relations to the pastoral clergy may be considered under the general heads of *collation, visitation, convocation* and *correction*. "Collation" is the ecclesiastical term for the right of appointment to benefices. Though canonically a function of the bishop, this right was considerably invaded by the chapter and the archdeacons.

Applicants for posts were usually presented to the bishop by patrons, who might be either lay or ecclesiastical persons and in either case might have their own ulterior reasons for asking for the appointment. The bishop, if he did his duty, would examine the candidate. We find that the examination given by Eudes Rigaud in the diocese of Rouen in the thirteenth century consisted in certain elementary tests in Latin grammar and in singing the service. To qualify, the candidate would presumably have been a student at one of the episcopal schools. Sometimes rejected candidates made trouble by appealing to the pope or to the archbishop.

Visitation was largely for the purpose of inspection. The bishop was free to visit and was entitled to hospitality from secular and regular *Visitation* clergy, though the right of *hospitium* was valid only once a year. On his visits he was supposed to observe carefully the conduct of the affairs of the churches, the lives of the clergy, the condition of the buildings and so on. He possessed the same rights over the monasteries and priories except those whose papal charters exempted them from episcopal control. Inspection and supervision of these monastic houses constituted no easy task. We shall have occasion to refer later to some of the problems involved. One is struck by the evidence that the bishop's care in this visitation was frequently not so much for the vital religion of priests and people as for the regularity with which the services and the business affairs of these institutions were conducted.

The right of convocation was the bishop's authority to call the clergy *Convocation* of the diocese to the diocesan synods, which met annually. The place of meeting was at the selection of the bishop. The lower clergy frequently, through inability or indifference, failed to answer the bishop's summons.

The bishop's right of correction was his disciplinary right to punish a priest. Neglect of church business or service, violation of vows and the prevalent simony in any form were among the principal offenses. The right of correction was most conveniently exercised, in the case of *Correction* seculars, in the synod, but it formed a necessary if unpleasant part of the business of visitation. Often the mere citation of a culprit brought forth his confession, with a more or less sincere promise of amendment. A solemnly phrased promise of the sort is given in Bishop Rigaud's report already mentioned. The bishop could impose fines,

depose temporarily or permanently, or even excommunicate, according to the seriousness of the offense.

Bishop as a manorial lord

The domain of the bishop, who was usually a very great landed proprietor, was called the *mensa episcopalis*. For a long time the *mensa* was held without division between bishop and chapter, but by the beginning of the eleventh century the *mensa* of the chapter was distinct. The cathedral itself, however, remained a "common property," and the expenses of its maintenance took a large part of the revenues of both. The bishop's *mensa* included a portion of the town surrounding the cathedral, and areas of land in various parts of the diocese, and even in neighboring dioceses. These lands were of two distinct classes so far as the bishop was concerned. In part they were administered by him directly, in part they were his fiefs, administered by his vassals. The term *mensa* was applied to both these. The lands directly administered may be compared to the patrimonium of the popes in the days of Gregory the Great. They were put in charge of agents, who were responsible to the bishop, and to the latter belonged the profits. These agents were called *mayors* or *provosts*. The relation of the servile peasantry on these estates to the bishop did not differ from that existing between lay landholders and their serfs.

Feudalization of the episcopate

The bishop was in a different relation to his feudal fiefs, lands held by vassals who did him homage, the benefices of certain collegiate churches (most of these were also vassals of the chapter), and certain abbeys and priories. All these were land fiefs. But besides these the bishop possessed a class of incorporeal fiefs, the salaried offices in his gift and in the gift of the chapter, such as those of the dean, the cantor, the chancellor and the lay offices of the household, for all of which the holders did homage to the bishop. This variety of feudal holdings made the bishop suzerain over many lay as well as clerical vassals. In some cases these included high lords and kings. The bishop of Mende had for vassal the king of Aragon and the count of Rodez. The vassals of the bishop of Paris included the king of France, the bishop of Langres and the duke of Burgundy. There was no distinction between the homage rendered to a bishop and that rendered to a lay suzerain.

In a large diocese and cumbered with a great amount of business, the average bishop could not possibly have maintained a close pastoral relation with his people. A great episcopal lord, he was far removed from the common people, and too often had little interest in them or

sympathy for their troubles. The bishop had enough to do to attend to the mere external machinery of religion—more, indeed, than he could do well. Yet there were occasions on which a bishop could be seen and heard by everyone.

He preached frequently, or at least was expected to, in the cathe- *Preaching* dral church and thus could impress his thoughts on the city congregation. Many feudal bishops left this duty undone; but the papacy frequently emphasized the bishop's duty to preach and in his visitations he was supposed to preach before the assembled clergy and people. The degree in which he took the opportunity to meet and to influence the people would depend upon the character of the man himself. But unless he committed a crime grave enough to come up for judgment before the episcopal court, the serf had small chance of meeting a bishop.

The construction and maintenance of suitable places of worship were regarded as a part of the bishop's duties to his people. In the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, during the renaissance of architecture, in which Gothic became the prevailing type, the bishops vied with each other in the construction of magnificent churches. Money for buildings was raised by all sorts of means, some of them very questionable. Gifts were frequently rewarded with spiritual benefits recoverable only in the life to come.

Beside his preaching, visiting and building, the bishop supervised the distribution of the charities and benefactions for the poor and the unfortunate.

The bishop possessed large judicial powers. These were a legacy from late Roman times, but shared in the general irregularities *Judicial* and inefficiency of feudal jurisdiction. About the middle of the twelfth *powers of* century, however—before this could be said of the lay courts in gen- *bishop* eral—the bishop's courts began to feel the influence of Roman law. In the Church, as in the kingships, this influence made for two things, efficiency and absolutism. Suits and criminal actions might come directly into the bishop's court, or indirectly by way of the parish court, or from the lower court of a vassal. The court consisted of the bishop and the chapter. A great amount of judicial business was settled by the bishop alone, or with such counsel as he had at hand on his visitations. Frequently the archbishop took cases illegally out of the bishop's hands, as did also the popes. Bishops were often in conflict

with the lay powers over the rights of jurisdiction. Frequently the disputed cases were between a cleric and a layman. The Church strove to maintain the principle that a cleric could be tried only in a church court.

Archbishop   The bishop's relation to the archbishop was influenced by feudalism. This is indicated in the form of the bishop's oath of obedience, the language of which resembles that of the feudal vassal's obligation to his suzerain. The archbishop was to the bishop as the bishop to the lower clergy. By the right of inquisition he visited and inspected the suffragan's diocese, studying his public administration and his private conduct. Here too the right of inquiry carried with it that of discipline. He could even excommunicate a bad bishop. The bishop was expected

Synods   to attend the provincial synods at the call of his superior. Descriptions of such gatherings show that their character was not parliamentary, as the church councils became in the fifteenth century. The archbishop read to his suffragans the measures he had to promulgate; or the assembly was constituted into a tribunal for cases submitted to the archiepiscopal jurisdiction. Suffragans were not always submissive, however. One great source of friction was the carrying of appeals from episcopal courts to the papal curia, or the lifting of litigation by an archbishop out of the court of his suffragan.

In his double character as spiritual vicar and feudal vassal the bishop had to steer between archbishop and pope on the one hand and duke and king on the other. Originally the Frankish episcopate had been largely dominated by the crown. But in the feudal age many of the bishops were the vassals of dukes and counts. Seigniorial influence in the elections and conduct of episcopal sees began in the weakness of monarchy in the ninth century. So we must distinguish between episcopal fiefs pertaining to kings, and those controlled by feudal nobles.

In the royal episcopal fiefs the king claimed what was called the

Regale   *regale*. This was the right to the revenues during a vacancy, but usually carried with it the claim to the right of investiture, and influence in or domination of the elections. This was a ground of dispute with the popes, and as a result of the Gregorian propaganda the crown was obliged in the twelfth century to renounce some of its claims. Homage and feudal investiture of bishops were virtually done away. The bishop now simply took the oath of *fidelitas*. The exact meaning of this word is hard to ascertain; it probably had a certain feudal sense

beyond mere loyalty as a subject and certainly still entailed obligation
for military service. An unwilling bishop would sometimes protest *Warrior*
when commanded to defend his suzerain in arms, but it was poor policy *bishops*
to refuse. St. Bernard was shocked to think that a deacon had become a
seneschal of Louis VI and so would have to "command an army with
the same mouth that chanted the mass." But many of the clergy loved
fighting more than their spiritual exercises. The *Chronicle of Novalese*
describes a fighting monk, Walter, who loved a good horse and single-
handed thrashed and routed a band of robbers. Henry I told the Pope
that his bishops and abbots were too busy helping him put down a
rebellion to attend a council at Reims. Bishops sometimes died in
battle. Six French bishops went as fighting men on the Third Crusade.
Richard Lion-Heart made the archbishop of Auch an admiral. Simon
de Sully, bishop of Bourges, led an army in the Albigensian Crusade.
Hugh of Noyers, bishop of Auxerre, was a formidable soldier, whose
ambitious military prowess was punished by his suzerain. In some this
military quality became criminal. Matthew of Toul (1198–1210)
lived in reckless immorality, dismissed most of his clergy and op-
pressed the others, plundered the country as a robber baron, and defied
Innocent III and Thibaud, duke of Lorraine. He ended his life on
Thibaud's sword.

Despite this blend of ecclesiastical and feudal, despite this fusion
of things religious and things secular, the primary nature of the priestly
office, whether of bishop or of priest, was never obliterated. That min-
istry was the cure of souls (*cura animarum*). The administration of
the sacramental system was the supreme obligation of the clergy *Sacramental*
everywhere. It was for that that they took "holy orders," or ordina- *system*
tion, by which they received the power and grace to perform their
sacred duties. "So immensely important a part of the priestly function
came very naturally to overshadow all the rest, and thus was evolved
the astounding, but perfectly logical doctrine that the personal char-
acter of the priest had nothing to do with the effectiveness of his
service. He might be the worst of men without being any the less a
true priest. Of course the Church in its official action never encouraged
vice, and did what it could to keep its ministers clean; but still this
element of formal in place of actual virtue kept on increasing and gave
its character to the whole medieval system." [1]

[1] EMERTON, *Medieval Europe*, p. 541.

All the sacraments of the Church were very old, most of them in fact being contemporary with early Christianity itself. But their number did not become fixed at the mystical seven until the twelfth century, when Petrus Lombardus wrote the famous *Sententiæ* or *Sentences*, which were accepted by the Church. This was the time of the rise of the papal monarchy and the codification of the canon law by Gratian. The seven sacraments were decreed *the* sacraments in that great age when the Roman Church finally formulated its doctrines and established its institutions. In the administration of every sacrament except penance the Church employs solemn ceremonies intended to symbolize the divine gift or grace imparted to the recipient.

The seven sacraments are: baptism, confirmation, the eucharist, penance, marriage, extreme unction and holy orders. Through *baptism* all previous sins are forgiven and the original guilt of the baptized person is removed. *Confirmation* may only be performed by the bishop; through it the child becomes a member of the Church. It occurs at puberty when the child can distinguish between good and evil. The *eucharist,* the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, is the most important of the sacraments—indeed, the one on which the Church's authority fundamentally rests and around which centers its imposing service, the mass. In this ceremony, according to the doctrine of transubstantiation, which was not formulated until the great Lateran Council in 1215, and which thereby took away the right of private judgment, the bread and wine of the sacrament are converted, by the words of the priest who offers the mass, into the body and blood of Christ. *Penance* is performed after the priest's "absolvo te" has removed the guilt of sins committed, to remove the penalty still attached to the commission of the sin. Penance is the only sacrament administered in secret and is intimately attached to confession. Closely allied to penance was the practice of giving indulgences. An indulgence was a remission of some of the penance imposed after the guilt of the sin had been removed by priestly absolution. Thus, by paying a fine an absolved person could be spared the penance of fasting. Particularly as the doctrine of indulgences could be so easily misunderstood and taken to mean that salvation could be purchased, the practice of indulgences was open to grave abuses. Some of the popes were prone to raise money by offering indulgences almost wholesale. *Extreme Unction* is administered before death. The attending priest anoints

the body of the dying Christian with holy oil, to give him spiritual and bodily strength for his final hour and to remit sins yet unremitted.

These five sacraments apply to all Christians. The other two are less universal. *Marriage.* While marriage always was and had been a sacred social institution, a religious ceremony was not compulsory, or even customary, until the tenth century. The provision of early canon law with reference to betrothal followed Roman law, according to which it was a civil, not a religious bond, and the priestly benediction was without legal significance. Marriage was not made a sacrament until 1164. Similarly the Church's attitude towards divorce was of slow development. In both the pre-Nicene and the post-Nicene period divorce was permitted and remarriage allowed, though general opinion favored separation with the hope of reconciliation. Even so late as the Council of Tours (1061) bishops were allowed to grant divorce with right of remarriage. The change came with the growth of centralized power, and of the hierarchy, the formulation of canon law, and the legislation of the Church concerning degrees of relationship, when in 1066 new prohibited degrees were substituted for those of the Roman law. Then the second, fourth and sixth degrees of the civil law were made the first, second and third degrees. Uncles could not marry nieces nor aunts marry nephews, and the marriage of cousins was forbidden. Even "spiritual affinity" was a bar to marriage— that is, godfathers and godmothers were related as if by blood. This rigid legislation opened the door further to the dispensing power of the pope. For the Church often found it politically advisable or financially profitable to approve dynastic alliances within the prohibited degrees, or to separate politically influential persons, as in the cases of Louis VII of France and Queen Eleanor, by "nullification" of the bond.

Holy Orders is the sacrament of ordination to the priesthood, and is the one purely clerical sacrament, and like confirmation, can be administered only by a bishop. Once ordained, a priest had an indelible character, not removed by any sins he might later commit, and could always perform his priestly offices with unimpaired authority and efficacy unless formally deprived of priestly authority. We can see the need for this doctrine if we consider the social disorganization which would occur if the discovery that a priest had long been secretly sinful invalidated all the marriages and other sacraments he had performed.

As we cannot understand the Middle Ages without understanding the implicit confidence men had in the spiritual authority of the Church, however they might rebel or sin against it, so we can only understand the power of the weapons of the Church—*excommunication* and the *interdict*. By the interdict the Church prohibited the people of a parish, or city or province, from the consolation and enjoyment of certain sacraments and rites, usually the mass and church burial. An interdict upon the territory of a refractory noble could arouse an enormous resentment against him, and the weight of an indignant public opinion would frequently bring him to terms. Excommunication, as the term implies, deprived the offender of all church privileges. The faithful might be forbidden to associate with him in any way; and secular rulers frequently added to the severity of the punishment by banishing the excommunicated person. The excommunication of a ruler automatically deprived him of his right to govern; his subjects not only were released from the necessity of obeying him but sometimes were enjoined actually to disobey him. To be sure, the popes resorted to arms, if the need arose and they could raise an army; but at the height of medieval religious fervor the interdict and excommunication were powerful weapons indeed.

Excommunication and the Interdict

Just as popular Christianity adopted the habit of pilgrimage from paganism, so it also adopted the veneration of relics of martyrs and saints. The Empress Helena's reputed discovery of the fragments of the cross in the fourth century is an early example. By the sixth century relic-worship and belief in miracles wrought by means of them were the most influential factors in the religious life of the people. The crusades and the religious revival of the eleventh century gave the practice new impetus, so that the quest of relics became almost a religious mania. Traffic in fictitious relics was great. The high value placed on relics is indicated by Richard I's redemption of the relics of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre for fifty thousand bezants, after Saladin took Jerusalem in 1187. In 1241, when a new piece of the "true cross" was found, the Venetians paid the King of Jerusalem twenty thousand gold pieces for it. The cult of miracles was thereby increased. A relic became a potent charm. Oaths were taken upon relics in court; their efficacy was called upon in disease, to avert the evil eye, to stop a plague among cattle, to insure good harvests. Monasteries tried to obtain them by fair means or foul. We have many cata-

Relics

logues of them. The sack of Constantinople in 1204 flooded the West with genuine and spurious remains of the martyrs and saints. This mania for the collection of relics, against which more spiritual minds protested in vain, however, gave a tremendous stimulus to art; for the reliquaries and caskets designed to house these sacred objects are among the most beautiful examples of medieval goldsmithing and ivory-carving. Even churches were built around relics, like the beautiful Sainte-Chapelle in Paris, which St. Louis erected to preserve a thorn of the crown of thorns.

The medieval adoration of the Virgin was the loveliest and most *Veneration of the Virgin* spiritual manifestation of the age. The cult was of early origin, but did not attain great proportions until the eleventh century, that century so phenomenal for intense and varied religious expression. Hugo of St. Victor's hymns to the Virgin are among the purest religious poetry of the Middle Ages. One of the most obvious explanations of the popularity of the Virgin is the fact that the Church, with its imposing hierarchy, its enormous spiritual and temporal power, its formidable authority to save or to damn, its preaching of the terrors of hell, its majestic doctrine of an omnipotent and avenging God, awed and frightened men. They feared God, but they did not love Him. Even Christ, the Son of God, although God had become man in Him and He was the mediator between sinful man and the wrath of God, partook too much of the formidable nature of God to be entirely lovable. But Mary humanized the Church by her divine sympathy for men, by her lovability and loveliness. No perplexing theological dogmas invested belief in the Virgin. She was the Queen of Heaven, but she was not far from them nor awful to contemplate; she was the mother of the Christ, yet sensitively human. In consequence Mary was more popular than any saint, and the friend of all, from highest to lowest. No burden of the heart was too great to bring to her in prayer, nothing was too trivial for her attention. The vast literature of the Middle Ages is testimony of the medieval faith in the Virgin, the spiritual atmosphere which rose like an exhalation around her. She inspired lovely lyrics, she conferred the halo upon medieval art. The thought of the Virgin left men breathless with adoration.

We have already examined the origin of the regular clergy, the early history of Irish and Benedictine monasticism, its decline and revival by Cluny. Cluny inaugurated a new era of monasticism. Its

example was often imitated in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which were, *par excellence,* the age of monasticism. The monastic orders were the proponents of papal supremacy, and naturally the popes favored the older orders and the creation of new ones. A century later than Cluny, about 1020, St. Romuald of Ravenna founded the order of the Camaldoli in Italy. It always remained a local order. In 1086 St. Bruno built a retreat in the wild gorges of the Isère in Dauphiné and established the most austere and severe order of the Middle Ages, the Carthusians.

In 1098 at Citeaux in Burgundy the Cistercian order was founded, the great competitor and in some sense the successor of Cluny in influence and popularity. St. Bernard was its most famous member. Pope Eugene III was a Cistercian. Citeaux differed radically in organization from Cluny, which as we have seen was a highly centralized congregation, and reflected the feudal system in its form of government. As Citeaux sent out offshoots, these offshoots or mother-abbeys in turn founded daughter-abbeys, and the foundress was, as it were, a suzerain to the abbeys that it had founded, which were its vassals. In other important particulars Cistercianism also differed from Cluny. Cluny's houses were magnificent structures, gorgeously adorned with painting and carving, in which the services were imposing, with grand processional, light and color and music. The Cistercians represented a sort of puritan reaction against such display. Their churches were unadorned, their services simple; even their manuscripts were without illumination and in plain black on white. Socially the order of Citeaux, unlike Cluny, was not an aristocratic order; its members were many of them drawn from the peasantry, even from serfs. This again is a reflection of the age—the time when serfdom was declining and the towns arising. Economically the Cistercians had an immense influence. Their agriculture, cattle-breeding, sheep-raising, swamp-redemption, forest-clearing were the most skilful of the time. Their pastoral activities were sometimes frowned upon because they tended to supplant farms by pastures, with an effect similar to that of the enclosure movement in England in the sixteenth century, when villages and farms were obliterated to make room for sheep-walks.

The growth of monasticism had aroused the jealous resentment of the secular clergy; and there was a good deal of hierarchy and social bickering between the two classes of clergy, particularly as popular

opinion and church legislation increasingly imposed monastic prac- tices upon the secular clergy. We have seen how celibacy was imposed upon the secular clergy. After the Lateran council of 1059, which estab- lished the college of cardinals, appeared the institution of canons: all the clergy enjoying the revenues of a cathedral were compelled to live in common, remain celibate and, except in name, live almost as monks. Orders of canons, like the Augustinians, were formed. Some canons, however, refused to go so far; and we find canons regular and canons secular. Canons regular were midway between the secular clergy and the monks, and under a bishop rather than an abbot.

But even the cult of the Virgin failed to redeem the Church from hardness of heart, from worldliness, from corruption. The Church *Evils and* had made a virtue of bigotry and fanaticism, it had made power a *defects in the* purpose and an end, it had elaborated a complex theology under- *medieval* stood by few, it was flooded with wealth and still avaricious. The high clergy were largely recruited from the feudal aristocracy; the Church was filled with haughtiness and pride and had alienated the hearts of the masses. While it had many charities to relieve the poor and distressed, it exploited millions of serfs upon its lands, it exacted huge sums of money from the pockets of the poor by its tithes, Peter's pence, and the endless impositions of the bishops upon their people. The Church forgot the poor and the lowly in its ambition to build its power and to accumulate riches. It needed new life to save it from itself. It needed to be recalled from politics and property interests to labor in the service of humanity once more.

By 1200 the Church and the common people were far apart. And then arose two great leaders who reproached the Church for its neg- lect, stung its callous conscience, and called it back to God and hu- manity. These two great apostles were St. Francis of Assisi (1182– 1226) and St. Dominic (1170–1221).

St. Francis was the son of a wealthy merchant of Assisi, who led an *St. Francis* idle if not profligate life in his youth. A sudden spiritual transforma- tion made him the richest and most winsome personality of the Middle Ages, if not of all time. At twenty-three he forsook home and wealth and clad in a rough gray robe bound with a cord, shod with sandals, went forth to preach penitence, love for one's fellow-men and the ideal of poverty. It was almost a new gospel. Francis had not planned to found an order, his own humility forbade his becoming a priest;

but he shortly had a group of men about him almost as eager as himself to seek perfection. For the guidance of these men Francis drew up a rule in which, to the customary rules of poverty, chastity and obedience, he added a particular injunction against the possession of any property whatever and of complete reliance upon alms. Innocent III first approved the new group orally in 1209, making Francis the superior-general of the Friars Minor; and in 1216 the pope solemnly approved the order. Before the death of Francis ten years later, the order had grown enormously and Francis had sent missions broadcast. After his canonization in 1228, the order continued to grow in a way which is one of the marvels of history.

Before many years the Franciscans were found in every country of Christendom, including Egypt and the Holy Land. Wherever the friars went—they were forbidden to ride, and always traveled in pairs, one in front and one behind, that they might not talk too much—they found eager welcome. Unlike the monastic orders [1] the Franciscans did not seek habitation in isolated and remote districts, but in the cities, oftenest in the slums amid the poor, the suffering. The newly risen cities abounded with crooked, filthy streets, and with a population almost forgotten by the Church; and here the Franciscans preached, nursed the sick and comforted the dying. Their services and marvelous growth are attested by the fact that during the "black death" more than 10,000 Franciscans died as they nursed the victims of the plague.

They caught the imagination of the thirteenth century as Cluny and Citeaux had caught that of previous centuries. Wherever people might be found gathered together, in market-places, at fairs, on holy days and ordinary week-days, they preached in the homely, racy vernacular of the country in which they were. This trait alone gave them a strong hold upon the masses. The old monastic orders frowned upon their methods and their teachings. The rich Cluniacs and Cistercians were offended by their doctrine of rigid poverty, disliked their democratic ways, resented their adaptation of the music of popular songs to hymns. The Franciscans were humble, strong and sincere.

St. Dominic   Dominic Guzmán, St. Dominic, in 1206 was a young priest in Cala-

[1] The Franciscans and the Dominicans were not monks, but regular canons; and are best called friars.

horra in Spain. Having accompanied his bishop on a journey into Languedoc, he was horrified by the prevalence of heresy there. But instead of being stirred to fanaticism, he was moved to pity. In his eyes the Catharists were lost sheep who had wandered into the thorny ground of heresy because of the failure of the Church to guide, and its inability, owing to the ignorance of the clergy, to combat the keen argumentation of the "perfects" among them, who could rout in argument and dialectic the schoolmen themselves. "Missions sent to them had been fruitless, for, as the missionaries came with horses and attendants, wearing purple and fine linen and faring delicately, the heretics felt, and rightly so, that they were better men than those who wished to preach to them, and therefore they refused to listen. . . . Dominic saw that the one way to win back these lost sheep was to fight them with their own weapons, viz: austerity, simplicity and argument." Out of the movement he generated sprang the Dominican Order of the Friars Preacher, coeval with the Franciscans but working along different lines and appealing to a different class in society. Popularly the Dominicans came to be known as the Hounds of the Lord, shepherd dogs to bring into the fold the sheep that were lost. St. Dominic laid his finger on the lack of an educated priest class as a great weakness in the Church. St. Francis appealed to the heart; St. Dominic appealed to the intellect. Like its friendly rival, the Dominican Order expanded with rapidity and its houses, again always in the cities, were soon everywhere throughout Christendom. The training of a Dominican was long and arduous. He was thoroughly grounded in scripture, in theology, and in canon law and carefully trained as a speaker. From the Dominicans came Albertus Magnus and the greatest mind in Catholic theology, his pupil St. Thomas Aquinas. The Dominican was made into an accomplished Latinist, though eloquent also in use of the vernacular, whereas the Franciscans knew little Latin and were indifferent to education. The pride of a Dominican house was its library; the pride of a Franciscan house was its sick-ward. Both orders subsisted on alms, but the alms for the Franciscans came from the poor, the alms for the Dominicans from the rich.

The administrative system of the friars differed from that of the Cluniacs or Benedictines, which we have already described. The model in both orders was the constitution of the Premonstratensian canons, though the priories of the Hospitalers may have suggested the idea of

the "province" and that of the sovereignty of the chapter-general, which in them was called "convocation." Both orders avoided the autocracy of Cluny and the looseness of Cîteaux and Premontré and created "a democratic, centralized and highly organized body, which was an order and not a collection of houses." Organization "was as the very breath of life to St. Dominic's nostrils," whereas St. Francis wished to keep his movement simple and unconventional and was compelled to organize the Friars Minor against his will.

It was inevitable that neither order would be able to live up to its ideals, especially the Franciscans, whose adherence to "Lady Poverty" was a counsel of perfection. The Franciscans first relaxed their original simplicity sufficiently to cultivate learning, and they vied with the Dominicans in the production of scientists and theologians. Duns Scotus, William of Ockham and Roger Bacon were Franciscans. In time both orders found it impracticable to live wholly upon alms; moreover, they could not avoid wealth when it was thrust upon them. In the end they evaded the vow of poverty by forming corporations which possessed great riches, though individually the members thereof had nothing. With wealth the old familiar evils which had corrupted the earlier orders corrupted the Franciscans and Dominicans too. By the end of the thirteenth century criticism of them was shrill and widespread. They also in time were to become moribund and fall into popular condemnation.

Contradictions in the medieval Church

Yet the great Church, of divine origin, but man-made in many ways, moved on, the most impressive institution of history, preaching, teaching, ministering, governing spiritually and temporally, charitable yet haughty, spiritual yet worldly, cruel yet kind, an integrating force, yet destroying good with evil, sometimes confounding wheat with tares, pure in heart, yet polluted, saving others and itself saved by its supreme purpose and mission and the devotion of the great souls ever to be found in it.

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CHAPTER XIX

FEUDALISM AND FEUDAL SOCIETY

FUNDAMENTALLY we may describe feudalism as a form of government based on land tenure. The feudal State was "an ordering of the common life with reference to an estate." It existed only within the limits of the feudal tie of lordship (suzerainty) and underlordship (vassalage), and expanded by acquiring more vassals or contracted as vassals withdrew to form feudal relations elsewhere. Though there is infinite variety of detail in feudalism as we find it in France, Germany, Italy, Spain and England, everywhere it was characterized by political control of the landed aristocracy.

This landed aristocracy originated in the latter years of the Roman Empire, when the government in its weakness conferred the rights of local administration upon the great proprietors in the provinces, or else permitted the proprietors to usurp these rights, which then by usage became legalized. Two practices of the fourth and fifth centuries, the *precarium* and the *patrocinium*, were forerunners of feudalism. *Precarium* In the *precarium* a small landholder who felt the need of protection in those troublous times, surrendered the title to his land to a great proprietor, but still occupied it as a tenant. No contract was entered into; the occupant had no redress if the lord evicted him; and as the tenant's occupancy was thus precarious, the relationship was called a *precarium*. Actually, eviction seldom occurred, as the lord increased his domain and his supply of labor; and the tenant was measurably safe from molestation. The imperial government first promoted this form of land tenure. Later, when the small landholders resorted to the *precarium* to escape the crushing taxes, the government attempted to suppress it. But it answered a real need of the time, and the government was unable to stop it. When the great proprietor could arm his servants and field hands and resist the government officials, he became pretty much a petty ruler.

Patrocinium In the *patrocinium* a landless man, whether a casual free laborer or a small holder who through mortgage foreclosure or governmental

confiscation for arrears of taxes had lost his land, would pray a local landed proprietor for the shelter and support of his family, in return for his labor on the lord's acres. As a result of this *patrocinium* there would grow up on the domain another dependent class of peasants who were neither slaves nor *coloni*. In time the slaves, the *coloni* and the landless men of the *patrocinium* mingled to form the servile peasantry of medieval Europe.

When in the fourth and fifth centuries the Church became a great landowner, and when the Germans began to settle within the Empire, the double system of *precaria* and *patrocinia* was greatly extended, especially as the canons of the Church early forbade the complete alienation of Church property and there was every inducement to make some such arrangements as these to bring its lands under cultivation. The civil wars of the sixth and seventh centuries, when the crying need of the lower classes was for protection, gave the system further impetus. "If the Roman world was more civilized than the medieval, it was proportionately more incapable of self-help if anything happened to the central government and to the regular army. Indeed, the feudal system gradually arose out of the welter of the barbarian invasions, precisely to remedy this vital defect in the social organism." [1]

Other institutions also entered into the formation of feudalism. The Celtic nations of Gaul were aggregations of *clans;* the Celtic chieftains had each a body of *clients,* who lived upon his bounty, executed his orders in the rude clan government, and fought for him. The Germans had their *comitatus,* or war-band. We cannot say how these separate practices were fused; but no historian doubts that there was fusion of these institutions in the early stages of feudalism. Strictly speaking, the feudal régime was the relation between greater and lesser nobles, who were differentiated by the amounts of their landed wealth. The lower side of feudalism, known as the manorial régime, was the relation of a landed proprietor to his servile tenantry.

In the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries these quasi-feudal practices gradually insinuated themselves into government; and we can observe the feudal penetration into public law and administration quite clearly. The kings, the Church, the proprietors, to extend their power and invest their wealth, extended the system of *precaria,* while the relation between greater and lesser lords was given a social dignity

[1] Trevelyan, *History of England,* p. 37.

Commendation and a character of personal loyalty by the custom of *commendation*, a formula of adherence and support recited by the lesser lord when he "commended" his person and lands to the overlord. The relation, however, was not contractual and could not be enforced in the courts; moreover, it was one-sided. The lesser lord might still be dispossessed and the relation was thus still "precarious." The protection expected of the overlord was more implied than expressed; and the services of the underlord were ill defined. Nevertheless the universality of commendation gave it the force of customary law.

Benefice The lands so engaged were called benefices (*beneficia*); and in them emerges one of the most important institutions of the feudal régime. The benefice was a grant of land made by one proprietor to another lesser proprietor, or even to a freeman, who took an oath of fidelity therefor. The grant was conditional, but the conditions were not yet well defined. In practice the grant was most often for life or during good behavior; but the character of good behavior was not clear. Either party might break the contract. Vague as was this agreement, however, it gave to the Merovingian epoch such political and social stability as it had.

Under Charles Martel the system of benefice-holding was given added dignity, the terms of the service were more sharply defined, and the contractual nature of the system became more apparent. The burden of war had become so heavy that only a landowner could perform military service, as the government provided neither equipment nor compensation for service. To compete with the Saracens, who were mounted, the Franks were forced to develop a mounted army. As we have seen, to accomplish this Martel confiscated church lands and distributed them to selected nobles, and sometimes freemen, as benefices; and demanded in return the performance of military services by the grantees and their retainers. Military service was regularized and made dependent upon land tenure; and the benefice became a legal institution, controlled by the crown. It was a long step towards feudalism.

Charlemagne extended the practice of beneficed lands and his voluminous legislation increased the definition of the system. The failure of the beneficed landowners to do military service caused the confiscation of their estates. The old oath of personal loyalty was elevated into an oath of allegiance to the king-emperor, and its viola-

tion became treason. The old word *vassus* and the new word *fidelis*
—meaning the man who took the oath of fidelity—came to be almost
the same. *Vassus* implied the property relation—the *vassus* "com-
mended" his land rather than himself; *fidelis* implied the personal
relation in the engagement of the benefice, and the oath was a personal
sworn promise to be faithful.

The disintegration of the Frank Empire in the ninth century broke
Charlemagne's system. The benefice-holders had always chafed under
the Carolingian rule that a benefice was revocable at the death of the
holder and could descend to his heirs only with royal permission; and
that on the death of the king the benefice reverted to the crown. The
benefice-holders were inclined to regard beneficed lands as their own
and wished to pass them on to their heirs. They wanted to parcel out
the lands they had held of the crown as their own, and finally suc-
ceeded in making them hereditary. The counts and *missi* at the same
time converted their powers into private jurisdictions. The stronger
nobles built castles to protect their lands, and increased the tendency
of the weaker nobles to commend themselves for protection.

In this new society the warlike aristocracy were independent chiefs,
only nominally subservient to the crown. About each of these chiefs
was his group of vassals. The vassal now became the lord's "man"
(*homo* and "homage"). His oath now included the duties of the
"aid" (*auxilium*) and "counsel" (*concilium*). The word "benefice"
was replaced by "fief" (*feodum*). The fief was a part of vassalage, and *Fief*
subject to the satisfactory discharge of services to the overlord, became
an hereditary holding. The free peasant almost disappeared; the con-
dition of the serf became harder than before. The social differences of
the nobility were indicated by various titles. Though the titles were
not uniformly applied, the greatest nobles were dukes and margraves,
but certain great counts were their equals (*peers*). The margrave
disappeared in France, but the counts of Brittany, Flanders, Provence
and Toulouse were as strong as the dukes. The generality of the no-
bility were called counts, until the parcellation of fiefs and the succes-
sion of junior sons to them gave rise to viscounts (*vice-counts*) and
then to barons and chatelains. The barony was the lowest unit which
exercise a sovereignty; the chatelain was but the landless custodian of
a castle. By the eleventh century the feudal régime was established
everywhere in Europe. There was no large and singly governed state,

of a single social pattern; instead there were swarms of principalities of varying sizes and of random social patterns.

Yet, slowly, order came out of anarchy, justice out of power, law out of custom, honor out of fealty. Thoughtful men no longer looked back upon the reign of Charlemagne as a golden age. Experience and public opinion defined the new institutions and gave them a higher sanction than mere power. In the new and great feudal civilization which now came into being were the germs of our modern principles of liberty: the principle of the freedom of the subject, of the right of a man to be tried by his peers, of his right not to be deprived of life or property without process of law, of the responsibility of those who rule to do justice or suffer deposition.

Mutual duties of lords and vassals

The duties of the overlord were to protect his vassal, to do him justice and not to deprive him of his fief without due process of law. The vassal in turn owed his lord various services, military, civil, financial. When summoned the vassal had to appear in the field with a prescribed number of retainers. As the lords often tried to keep their armies in the field during all the spring and summer—since Biblical days the time "when kings go forth to war"—by the twelfth century, custom had limited a vassal's term of military service to forty days. The vassal's chief civil obligation was to attend the overlord's court and assist in the administration of justice. This was the right of *placitum* or court. No feudal prince exercised judicial functions alone, and the vassal might sit as an associate justice with his lord; or he might act as a juror in the trial of another vassal who was his equal. If a vassal refused to appear for trial, the others might be called upon to take the field with the lord to enforce the summons and judgment. Under Louis VI of France, an entire court once rode to the fief of the offending lord and, seated on their horses in a circle around him, tried him then and there.

Aids

The financial "aids" were payments, varying with the wealth of the vassal and the importance of the overlord, for the ransom of the lord if he were captured in war, and contributions at the knighting of his eldest son and at the marriage of his eldest daughter. Like the required military services, these "aids" in time became standardized by custom.

Relief

The vassal made other payments. The *relief* was exacted whenever a fief was newly granted, as after the lord's death or the vassal's. It was a kind of inheritance tax, a fee paid for the right to hold (re-

lieve) the fief under the new condition. The relief was also paid if a
vassal sold his fief to another lord. Though the required sums were
not uniform, they were always heavy, sometimes the entire revenue
of a fief for a year. The easy abuse of the relief made it one of the
earliest feudal dues to be converted into a stipulated money payment.
A lord was entitled to the hospitality of any vassal in whose fief he
found himself; and this feudal due, also, was soon converted into a
money payment. With time even military service began to be con-
verted into a cash payment called *scutage*, or shield money. The lord   *Scutage*
was thereby enabled to hire mercenaries who would fight as long as
their wages were paid. In the twelfth century these hirelings abounded,
ex-crusaders, hardy run-away serfs, illegitimate sons of nobles, junior
sons who by the law of primogeniture depended upon the elder brother
for largess, adventurers of every guise.

The lord had further rights of wardship, escheat and forfeiture.
The overlord, or suzerain, was the guardian at law of a minor vassal,
and frequently upon reaching his majority the vassal found his in-
heritance had been consumed by the lord. The suzerain could also
govern the marriages of his vassals' children; this he frequently did
to his own political advantage. *Escheat* was the lapse to the suzerain   *Escheat*
of a fief without an heir. *Forfeiture*—the confiscation of a fief for cause   *Forfeiture*
—was the most severe penalty in the feudal code and was almost never
enforceable upon a powerful vassal. The confiscation in 1204 by Philip
II of France of the fiefs of King John, and the confiscation in 1181
by Frederick Barbarossa of Saxony from Henry the Lion, are the
most notable instances of heavy confiscation.

"Fief and justice are one"; so ran the feudal maxim. Within his
own fief every lord had his own court and the right of judicature.
Great nobles had the right of "high" justice, or capital punishment
(*justitia sanguinis*, justice of the blood; *justitia ensis*, justice of the   *Justice*
sword). Lesser nobles had "mean" justice; small barons had only
"low" justice, jurisdiction only over petty offenses. As the adminis-
tration of justice was very profitable, and as a feeling for abstract jus-
tice was unknown to the feudal age, the various jurisdictions were
usually allotted according to the sizes of the fines which could be
imposed.

The evils of feudal government, like those of any other govern-
ment, arose from the abuse of its principles. The greatest abuse of the

Private war   feudal system was private war. The intense individualism, the complications arising from the network of authorities, and the conflicting loyalties, provoked numerous local wars. Sometimes with no more than a couple of dozen soldiers on either side, they might be merely family feuds, fierce enough but not lasting over the summer's campaign. The war might widen in area if the suzerains of the conflicting nobles came to the support of their vassals. Perhaps the prevalence of private war has been exaggerated, as it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between it and mere brigandage. It was the robber baron, not the feudal noble in private war, who waylaid merchants and pilgrims, extorted money from bishops and abbots; and plundered the peasantry. Nevertheless private war was a frequent occurrence. Fundamentally, of course, feudal society rested on the productive efforts of the peasantry. And as each warring noble strove to destroy the resources of his enemy, the villages and crops of the peasantry suffered severely.

As every sound organism—and the feudal organism was very sound —attempts to develop within itself a remedy for its own ills, so feudalism developed a check on this nagging private war. The nobles themselves were too interested in possible gains from private war to try to check it. But the Church, itself a feudal institution and one whose vassals, lands and peasantry suffered in the chronic squabbling, intervened to restrain the grossest evils by the proclaiming of the Peace of God, *not* the Truce of God. In the far south of France local synods of 989,990 and 994 threatened with anathema all who pillaged church lands or peasants or molested women, children or merchants. This

Peace of God   Peace of God spread over most of France, but it was *not* sustained by *civil* authority. In the middle of the eleventh century, therefore, the Church limited private war by establishing the Truce of God, and called upon the feudal baronage to support it. Fighting was forbidden on Friday, Saturday and Sunday of every week, on pain of excommunication and even of interdict. The Truce of God was so popular that certain periods in the calendar were declared peace periods. The first period of the forty days in Lent was soon extended to Whitsuntide and then to St. John's Day (June 24). Private war was then forbidden from the Day of the Ascension of the Virgin (August 15) to

Truce of God   St. Martin's Day (November 11). Thus the Truce of God protected the peasant during his seasons of plowing, sowing and harvesting his

grain and hay crops and of gathering the autumn fruits and of wine-making. The wandering merchant also was most abroad during these two seasons, traveling from fair to fair. In only the coldest and the hottest months could the baron indulge in his favorite sport. These checks upon private war were aided by the growing power of the great feudatories and of the kings, who opposed private war within their lands so effectively that after the eleventh century the great feudal provinces suffered very little.

The great feudatories erected castles and garrisoned them with their own retainers, primarily to repel invasion and to preserve order among rebellious or predatory underlords. Romantic novelists to the contrary, the noble did not always dwell in his castle. It was the capitol of his fief, where he held court, audited the accounts of tax-collectors, formally received important visitors, preserved his records and so on. He had private quarters in the castle, of course, but frequently he dwelt in one or other of his manor houses. He had his own household and court officials, chancellor, constable, seneschal, butler. A provost or bailiff administered the local affairs of a fief; and in large fiefs was supervised by the visiting seneschal.

The social life of the nobility was, to our taste, pretty rough and *Social life of* simple. The medieval lord was frequently a prodigious eater and *the nobility* drinker; other favorite sports were backgammon and dice. The Church frowned upon dice-throwing as the players might indulge in profanity. When not away on military or civil service for their suzerains, or on visits to their manors or relatives and neighbors, the lords were indefatigable hunters. Hunting was a cherished privilege of the nobility, and the game and forest laws were burdensome and cruel to the peasantry, who could hardly resist the temptation to snare an occasional rabbit or even capture bigger game. The nobility also engaged in tournaments so enthusiastically that they frequently were seriously maimed, even killed. Yet not all medieval nobles were merely hard-riding, hard-drinking, hard-swearing gentry. Many of them were fond of the arts and were refined and cultivated gentlemen.

The women of the lord's household sewed and embroidered, not only for the family but also on the copes and chasubles of the clergy and cloths for the altar. They might visit the sick and the poor of the tenantry. The domestic management of a *château* required much careful attention and there was little time for idleness. An itinerant mer-

chant with his wares, a pilgrim with his tales of distant lands, strolling acrobats with perhaps a dancing bear, a trouvère with new songs, afforded occasional diversion. When fairs became prominent the noble's entire family might take a week off to attend one. An abbot en route to Rome or to some shrine, or the bishop making his visits was usually entertained at the *château* or manor house.

If we judge by its improvement in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the life of even the nobility must originally have been hard and uncomfortable. The castle of the ninth century was a timber blockhouse surrounded by a ditch and a palisade of tree trunks. The windows were mere slits and the rooms were narrow and dark. Window-glass was unknown in domestic architecture and even in ecclesiastical architecture until late in the Middle Ages. Glazed linen served for glass. The castle was gradually enlarged by the succeeding generations, but only late in the twelfth century were engineers, stone-cutters and masons sufficiently skilled to erect great stone buildings. Even then the lower courses were frequently of stone with timber upper work.

Great castles

After about 1200 arose the great castles like the Château Gaillard, built by Richard I on the Seine above Rouen, the Château Coucy and the Wartburg in Germany. These gigantic structures were really a series of castles. The "keep" or great tower, was really only the largest of several towers, each with its own portcullis gates, drawbridges across interior chasms and inner court. Around all the castle ran a thick, high wall. Bastion towers at the angles of the wall and sustaining lesser towers between, enabled defending archers to enfilade the outer wall with their arrows. The avenue along the top of the wall was protected by a curtain wall, so the defenders could move safely from one point to another. At intervals there were openings in the curtain wall, to permit the defending archers to shoot. The huge moat, whether dry or filled with water, was difficult to cross except by the drawbridges. Some of these castles were enormous. The wall might be from eight to twenty-five feet thick and enclose an area of fifteen acres. Coucy le Château, the Château Gaillard and the great Krak of the Crusaders had each as much masonry as the Great Pyramid.

In the Middle Ages, as in our own, the cost of military preparedness was the heaviest item in the social economy. Beyond the cost of the huge castles, was the cost of maintaining the knight's more personal military equipment. Every knight had to have his own charger, a

horse strong enough to carry both its own armor and its heavily armored rider, and from three to ten other horses, mounts for his varlets and hostlers, pack horses and spare mounts for himself. The nobles were accordingly much interested in horse-breeding; and imported many horses from Barbary and Byzantium. The huge Percheron, now used as a draft horse, takes his name from the little medieval French province of Perche. The lord's armor, another expensive part of his equipment, was first only a shirt of mail reaching *Military* to the hips, and later to the knees. Then coats of mail, with leggings of *equipmen* mail and hoods, were developed. As the modern projectiles and armor plate each force improvements in the other, so the medieval armorer was forced to improve his technique. The cross-bow was invented in the twelfth century. Plate mail came in, and by very skilful jointings, the knight was soon covered with a very effective defense against even the cross-bow. An incidental result of the use of such armor was the great development of armorial bearings to identify the knights hidden behind their armor. As further defense the knight carried a shield, oval or kite-shaped. His favorite weapon was the lance; he also carried a sword and for fighting at close quarters, a dagger or poniard.

The cross-bow was the most effective weapon of the infantry in the high feudal age. It was not a gentleman's weapon, but was employed by mercenaries. The cross-bow might be mounted on the walls of the castle or carried by the infantry in the field. Its missiles were "quarrels," sharpened iron bolts. When the bow of the cross-bow was made of steel, so strong that it was bent by a special contrivance, the "moulinet," it was a terrible weapon. In 1139 the pope forbade its use except against the infidel. Nevertheless it remained in vogue, especially among mercenaries. The favorite weapon of the English from the thirteenth century was always the long bow. With its grey goose feathered arrows, it is almost the hero of many English ballads, and we get many accounts of the surprising accuracy of the bowmen. The bowman could shoot faster and very much farther than the cross-bowman; and English archers won the great battles of Crécy, Poitiers and Agincourt.

The battering-ram, the testudo, the moving tower and the catapult were used in siegecraft—every one unchanged from antiquity. Until the crusaders saw them operated by the Byzantines, they were practically unknown in the West. After his visit to the Holy Land, Henry the Lion astonished Germany by using them; and they were first

employed in large numbers at the siege of Milan, during the reign of Barbarossa. As during the World War the great guns had their pet names, so the medieval army dubbed its battering-ram or mangonel with a pet name. And in many poems we learn that Joyeuse was Charlemagne's sword, and Roland's sword was Durandel.

As a form of government, though not as a social structure, feudalism began to lose ground in the thirteenth century, except in Germany, where it continued almost to modern times. But elsewhere feudalism *Complication* could not compete with the new money economy introduced as serf-*of the feudal* dom declined and the towns arose. Independently of these external *régime* forces, feudalism developed difficulties within itself. By conquest, marriage, inheritance, purchase, many nobles acquired fiefs that made them simultaneously suzerains and vassals of other lords. The count of Champagne, one of the very greatest of French feudatories, in the twelfth century, who originally was a homager of the king only, held fiefs of the archbishop of Reims, the bishops of Langres, Châlons, Auxerre, and Autun, the abbot of Saint-Denis, the duke of Burgundy, and even the emperor in Germany, of all of whom he was a vassal, while at the same time he was a powerful overlord of many other nobles. The conflicting claims, and the resulting friction of concurrent jurisdictions, with their legal and political entanglements, finally made the system so complicated that it jammed and would not work, and afforded easy opportunity for the king as highest suzerain to interfere, always to the advantage of the crown.

The accompanying map will illustrate the intricate and complicated relations of a great feudal vassal. It has been made from the Register of Fiefs of the counts of Champagne, whose territories were a vast agglomeration of twenty-six fiefs brought together in one hand by various means. The count was a vassal of the king of France for most of these, but was also the vassal of nine other lords besides the king, among them being the archbishops of Reims and Sens and four other bishops, and the abbot of Saint-Denis. In addition he was a vassal of the emperor also. Of how many lords he was suzerain it would be difficult to say.

Although many feudal nobles lost their former political and administrative power, they clung tenaciously to their social privileges. In this the kings indulged them, for every king was himself the first of all nobles in his realm, and was flattered to have a galaxy of great

nobles around him, shining in the light reflected from the throne. Out of this condition chivalry arose. Thus a word that originally meant no more than a body of mounted troops (*chevalerie*, from *cheval*, the medieval French word for "horse," hence French *chevalier*, Spanish *caballero*, Italian *cavaliere*, English *cavalier*) came to mean an institu- *Chivalry* tion graced with such moral adornments as "truth" and "honor" and "courtesy." Chivalry was an important medieval institution with po-
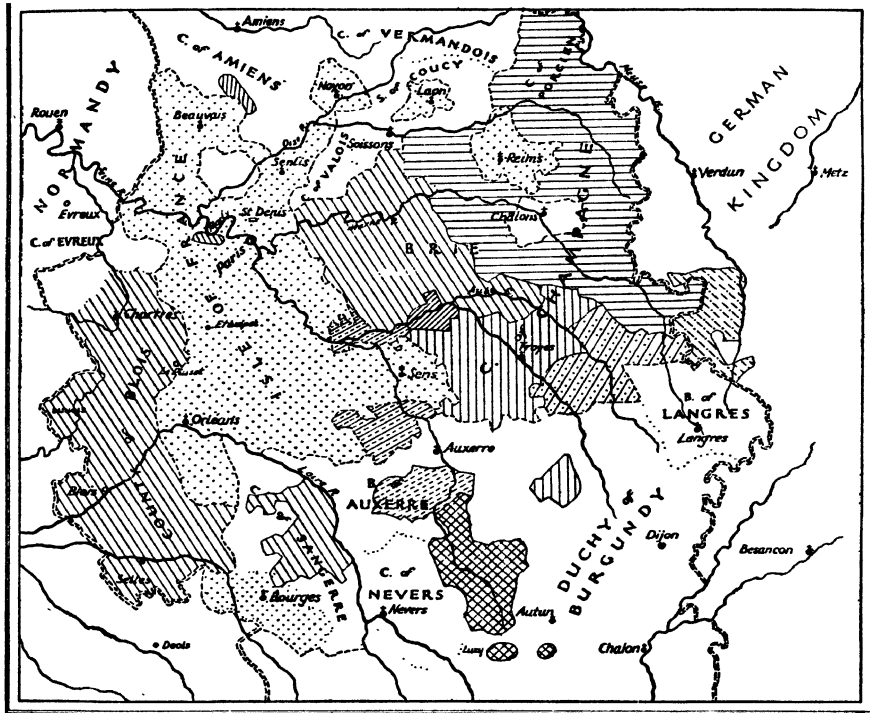
Emperor as suzerain	King of France as suzerain	Duke of Burgundy	Archbishop of Reims	Archbishop of Sens	Bishop of Autun	Bishop of Auxerre	Bishop of Langres	Abbot of St Denis

FIEFS AND SUZERAINS OF THE COUNTS OF CHAMPAGNE

litical, religious and juridical aspects. It was a vast fellowship of the nobility without fixed form or precise organization, but with rules of conduct and professional duties attached to membership in it.

As training in arms became the occupation of a special class of medieval society whose art became a profession, inherited from father

to son, this class came to be regarded as the strongest element in society, and hence rose to rank and privilege. It became a social caste, a gild totally unlike the later gilds of merchants and artisans, for it was one of professional warriors who recognized all of the brotherhood everywhere, without distinction of nation or country. Chivalry was an international caste. No one not possessed of an ancestor who had performed mounted military service could enter it easily, though there are examples of common soldiers who for distinguished prowess were admitted. Other distinctions in time were the right to wear arms, solemn initiation into the service of knighthood, exemption from taxation, title and escutcheon. A knight was a noble, but not every noble was a knight; for chivalry was an exclusive society. Chivalry *Military* was not an order, but military orders were organized within it, as *orders* the Knights Templar, the Knights of St. John of the Hospital and the Teutonic Knights.

It became the fashion for noble families to apprentice their sons to a high noble, himself a knight, by whose instruction the sons might be educated. This service was a social one. The young novice was trained in courtesy and deportment, in the proper way to address his superiors, in the way to enter and leave a room in which his betters were, in grace of carriage, in polite speech and manner. All who "passed" this training became gentlemen (*gentilhomme*, the man of gentle blood and manner), although we should say today that only those of fine nature and character became gentlemen. The rest became snobs or bullies, or even ruffians. Thus gradually the noblesse became popularly confused with chivalry. Aristocratic to those outside its class, chivalry was democratic within its pale. The knight had no obligations to other classes.

Although feudal society had always tended to become a closed order, it did not become so for nearly three centuries. By acquiring a fief or by being made a knight, a commoner might penetrate society. As, according to tradition, every knight could confer knighthood upon another, commoners were more frequently ennobled this way than by acquiring fiefs. But this free recruiting of the feudal nobility from below was stopped in the late twelfth century, when the law declared that a knight had to be of noble blood.

When the Peace of God proclaimed protection of the poor and the

oppressed, and when war against the infidel was idealized, the Church used this loyalty of service and these knightly manners to graft new ideals upon the old. As it lifted marriage or kingship till the relation became a sacrament, so it made practically another sacrament of the relationship between vassal and lord. The Church defined the mission of the feudal fighting man in the social order, and consecrated his old pagan virtues to serve a new and Christianized ideal of the state of life to which his Maker had called him. The true knight had "vocation" as much as the true monk—a vocation not less divine in its own degree. The initiation of the knight was converted into a religious ritual; all through the night before initiation the knight watched upon his arms before the high altar and prayed to Our Lady, for the Virgin became the patron of every knight. He was given a ritual bath, a ritual consecration to his calling. In brief, the knight was given a way of life. His duty was to guard the Church, protect the poor, redress wrong. Although the peak of chivalry was not reached before the first half of the thirteenth century, half of the great twelfth-century poem, the *Roman de la Rose*, is a laudation of knighthood.

There is something akin to Franciscanism in chivalry, in ideals of social relief and religious devotion to the cause, with the wide difference that the one appealed to the lower classes, and the other to the upper classes. And, like the Franciscan movement, chivalry carried within its bosom the seeds of its own decay, forgot its ideals and became corrupt. Its code became fantastic, its demeanor arrogant. It came to exhibit the evils, not the virtues, of caste. "In fact the institution we call chivalry produced some singularly ugly fruit. . . . Many men failed the ideal, and many perverted it. The perverse growth seemed for a time to strangle the true, and indeed brought its downfall as a social system." The reprobation and retribution that fell upon the Templars were significant of the change in the spirit of knighthood. And yet the perfume of chivalry persisted long after the flower perished and is found redolent of beauty in Dante's *Vita Nuova*, in the simple loyalty of the Sieur de Joinville to St. Louis, in Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier* as late as the sixteenth century.

Having long forgotten it, in America we seem to be struggling back to the primary feudal principle that "the tenure of property should be the fulfilment of duty."

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CHAPTER XX

THE PEASANTRY AND THE MANOR

MEDIEVAL society was divided into three strata: clergy, nobility and servile peasantry. The clergy and nobility were the political rulers, the social aristocracy and the owners of wealth. The distinctions between the classes were recognized in both social theory and law. Each of these classes constituted an "estate," whose status was recognized and defined. The office of the clergy was to worship God and to minister to the religious needs of men; that of the nobles was to govern; that of the peasantry was to labor as farmers, artisans, and traders, for the material support of the two privileged classes.

Classes of society

The peasantry was the lowest and the most numerous element in the population. By definition and condition it was rural. The word "peasant" is derived from the Latin word *pagus*, a country district, through the French "pays," so that "paysan" or peasant means a farm laborer. The medieval peasantry was everywhere, with few exceptions, composed of serfs. But although roughly all this lowest class was one in status and condition, nevertheless there were gradations of the unfree class as there were gradations of nobility. Slaves were the lowest stratum of servile society. Above them were serfs, some of whom were derived from Roman *coloni* or German unfree in the time of the Germanic conquest; others, of later origin, were descended from freemen who had been depressed to serfdom during the violence of the ninth and tenth centuries. These two classes mingled. Slavery did not disappear wholly in the Middle Ages, but it largely fused with serfdom.

Strata in servile society

In the Carolingian period, the *heerban* or compulsory military service, the civil wars, the inroads of new barbarians, depressed many freemen to serfdom and so created a new class of serfs. The manorial régime did not originate in the ninth century, but the violence of the time compelled the weak to seek the protection of the strong even at the price of loss of freedom, and thus developed the manorial

system. And by the eleventh century the original distinctions among the servile classes had been so blurred that practically they were one in nature.

Feudalism and the manor

Wherever feudalism existed, this peasantry dwelt in huddled villages and little hamlets upon the manors of the nobles and of the Church, and hence may be called the manorial peasantry. The manorial régime in origin was as old as the feudal régime, and its roots were partly Roman, partly German, but most of all economic in nature, and it had grown and developed simultaneously with feudalism. But it was not a feudal system; it was not even (though it has been so said) "the lower side of feudalism." For feudalism was an honorable relation of noble to noble; and each party to the relation possessed certain rights and privileges. Manorialism, on the other hand, was the relation of the noble as a landed proprietor to his servile tenantry. It was the relation of master and servant. There was neither pride of "aid" nor fellowship in it, as in feudalism. The services exacted were the hard, compulsory labors of a farming tenantry.

The manor the unit of the proprietary régime

The fief was the unit of the feudal régime; the manor was the unit of the proprietary régime. It was primarily a social and economic unit, politically it was unimportant. The manor may be roughly compared with a southern plantation before our Civil War; the tenantry of the manor may be roughly compared to the slaves of the plantation. Some manors were historically descended from Roman villas; others were formerly free German village communities which had been depressed to serfdom by their need of protection, or which had been forcibly reduced to serfdom. In any case the manor was a village of serfs who farmed on sufferance of the lord who owned the village and its farms roundabout. The manors were not uniform in size or population. A small manor might have no more than twelve or fifteen families; a large one as many as fifty or sixty families. As the average holding of a peasant was perhaps thirty acres, we estimate that the ordinary manor must have had from 900 to 2000 acres of arable land, with at least as much again for meadow, pasture, woods, waste and the lord's demesne. Many European villages still possess the boundaries which they once had when they were medieval manors.

Cottages of the peasants

The peasantry lived in wattled cottages with thatched roofs and earth floors, and without windows. The furniture was scant and of

the crudest sort. The bed was a box with a mattress filled with straw or dry leaves; the table was made of planks set on wooden trestles; a couple of three-legged stools, a chest, an iron pot and some pieces of earthenware completed the furniture. No artificial light was used. Candles were for churches and the lord's manorhouse. The danger of fire was too great even for a flaming pine knot. Moreover the peasant had nothing to do after dark; he could neither read nor write; he went to bed with the sun and was up with the sun. The cottages were without chimneys; a hole in the roof let out the smoke from a small fire in the center of the clay floor, and let in the rain, so that the floor was often damp and slippery. In summer the peasant wife cooked out of doors in a crude fireplace, with the pot hanging over the fire from a cross-bar on a tripod. The peasant housewife had no oven; the lord's oven, which was a local monopoly, baked for the whole village.

In contrast with these peasant cottages, the lord's manorhouse represented wealth and luxury, though it, too, would probably seem rude and comfortless to us today. The manorhouse was situated on the best site in the village, on a knoll if possible, which provided both view and drainage. Here is a description of a typical manorhouse. *The manorhouse*

"There were three stories so that like the sun it appeared to be suspended in the air. The cellar was a spacious place where were great woven baskets, wide-mouthed jars, and barrels, and other domestic utensils. The first floor contained a great living-room, with a huge fireplace, pantries, cupboards, the bedchamber of the lord and his wife, near to which was a lavatory and servants' rooms, and a room or dormitory for the boys. The reception hall . . . was also used as a chapel. The kitchens were on two levels; on the lower, pigs were roasted, geese, capons, and other birds killed and prepared for eating. On the other floor of the kitchen other provisions were cooked. . . . The furniture of the manorhouse was scanty. Glass windows were rare; a table put on trestles, a few forms or stools or a long bench stuffed with straw or wool, with one or two chairs and a chest or two of linen, formed the hall furniture. A brass pot or two for boiling and two or three brass dishes; a few wooden platters and trenchers or more rarely of pewter, and an iron or leather candlestick, a kitchen knife or two, a box or bowl for salt, and a brass ewer or basin, formed

the movables of the house. The dormitory contained a rude bed and but rarely sheets and blankets, for the gown of the day was generally the coverlet at night.

Castles and manorhouses were alike so draughty that their inhabitants wore woolen clothes both summer and winter. The floor of the great hall was covered with straw in winter to take away some of the chill. As bones from the table were tossed to the dogs which also were quartered in the room, when they were not hunting with their master, the straw soon became very filthy. Another layer of straw was then spread over the old one and at last the litter was cleaned out and the process started over again. Beds were always high above the floor and were hung with curtains to avoid draughts. Undergarments of silk and cotton also were imported after the Crusades, but they too were expensive, and as night clothes remained unknown, the noble lords and ladies slept naked.

Cooking was performed over a charcoal fire or with a spit and pots in the fireplace. The food was simple. Apples, pears, plums and cherries were the usual fruits. Cabbages, turnips, onions, beans, peas and carrots were the usual vegetables. Meat and fish formed a very heavy part of the meals. The cows were light and poor and gave very little milk; one record we have states that three cows produced only three and a half pounds of butter a week. Most of the milk was made into cheese, as wines and ales were the usual drinks. Coffee and tea, of course, were unknown. In the south olives and wine-grapes were grown everywhere, and in fact vineyards were extended much farther north in Europe than they now are. Salt was the only condiment available for seasoning before the Crusades introduced spices, and fruit juices and honey were the sole means of sweetening.

After the Crusades, spices from the East were imported eagerly and used to increase the tastiness of both foods and drinks. Sugar also was imported, but it was long a great luxury and was even used as a drug. Rugs were imported and spread on the cold floors and tapestries were imported and hung on the walls.

There is a famous remark that the medieval knight was covered "with ermine and vermin," and another remark that the Middle Ages were "a thousand years without a bath." This is not of course literally the fact. Every castle and monastery had its well and running water was sometimes piped into the interior. The better castles had both toilet

and bathing facilities, and after the Crusades, as we have seen, many returned knights continued the practice they had learned in the East of bathing. Table manners were simple. Everybody cut his meat with his dagger and ate it with his fingers. Forks seem to have been brought to Venice from Constantinople in the eleventh century and thence they spread over the rest of Italy. They reached the court of Charles V of France by the third quarter of the fourteenth century and England much later, but were long satirized as showing a finicky spirit in their users. We all remember the table manners of Chaucer's gentle Prioress:

> At mete wel y-taught was she with-alle;
> She leet no morsel from hir lippes fall,
> Ne wette hir fingers in hir sauce depe.
> Wel coude she carie a morsel, and wel kepe,
> That no drope ne fille up-on hir breast.
> Hir over lippe wyped she so clene,
> That in hir coppe was no ferthing sene
> Of grece, when she dronken hadde hir draughte.
> Ful semely after hir mete she raughte . . .

Not far from the manorhouse stood the local church and the priest's house. The church and the manorhouse were the only real edifices in the hamlet, for they might be timber structures or made of stone. The priest might have his own field apart from the fields belonging to the community, or he might possess strips of arable land amid the tenures of the serfs. In either case the ground had to be worked for him by the peasantry, although sometimes the priest, if of peasant stock himself and on good terms with his parishioners, might take a hand in the planting and harvesting of his patch.

A small proprietor might own only a few manors; a large and wealthy proprietor might possess many. The sum-total of all his manors constituted the lord's "domain." In most cases the manors of the domain were not adjacent but several, even many, miles apart. In the interest of convenience and economy of administration, proprietors often traded or sold an outlying manor in order to acquire another nearer home. From these land transfers we get a good deal of information about medieval rural economy. Each manor had a bailiff or

steward to manage it, and the lord spent much of the time traveling
from manor to manor, surveying the farm acres, examining the stew-
ard's accounts and supervising his tenantry.

The manor, although the lowest social and economic unit of medi-
eval society, was not the simple organism one might imagine. In the
Seven kinds first place there were seven different kinds of land and landholding
of land in a normal manor. Some of these tracts were in severalty, some were
common lands. These seven kinds of land were: (1) the lord's
demesne, a term which must not be confused with domain; (2) ten-
Common lands ures; (3) the close; (4) the common pasture; (5) the common wood-
lot or forest; (6) the common meadow; (7) the common waste.
Observe that the last four kinds of land were owned in common by the
villagers.

Very early in manorial history the proprietor had divided his estate
Demesne into two parts: the lord's reserve or *demesne*, sometimes called "in-
land"; and the lands of the villagers. The entire arable land of the
community was divided into Spring planting ground, Autumn plant-
ing ground and the Fallow. Crops were rotated and there was annual
alternation between the cultivated portion and the fallow. Each year
the former Autumn area was permitted to lie fallow, the Spring area
became the Autumn planting ground, and the former Fallow became
Three-Field- the Spring planting ground. This, the Three-Field-System, was an
System agricultural invention of the Middle Ages, for antiquity knew only
the Two-Field alternation between tilled and fallow ground. This ro-
tation first appears in the eighth century and is much younger than ro-
tation of crops. The arable lands were divided into lang, narrow strips
averaging 4 rods in width and 40 rods in length, called "ploughlands"
or "carucates" and were the true acre-fields of the village. Every
head of a family or householder in the village owned a greater or less
number of these strips in each arable area; the sum of these sometimes
widely scattered strips of land was the peasant's farm. Unlike a modern
American farm, the medieval farm was thus composed of scattered
patches of soil lying about the village. Each strip was a "field"; all-told
Open fields they were called "open fields," as a strip was not fenced but separated
from the adjacent strips by a ribbon of unploughed turf or by a "balk"
of two furrows thrown up against one another to make a ridge.
Ploughland These ploughlands were subdivisions of a once greater division in
the primitive German village known as a "hide" or "hufe," a tract of

WASTE

WOOD LOT

Stream

AUTUMN

PLANTING

FALLOW

SPRING
PLANTING

Village

Church
Parson's house

Parson's fields
or God's Acre

COMMON
PASTURE

Barn   Mill

Manor
House   Oven

POND

Marsh

LORD'S CLOSE
Showing parcellation

MEADOW
Showing meadow lots

A TYPICAL MANOR

Glebe lands of parish church in open fields
Lord's demesne in open fields
Strip fields of a single peasant

L.A.Dickinson
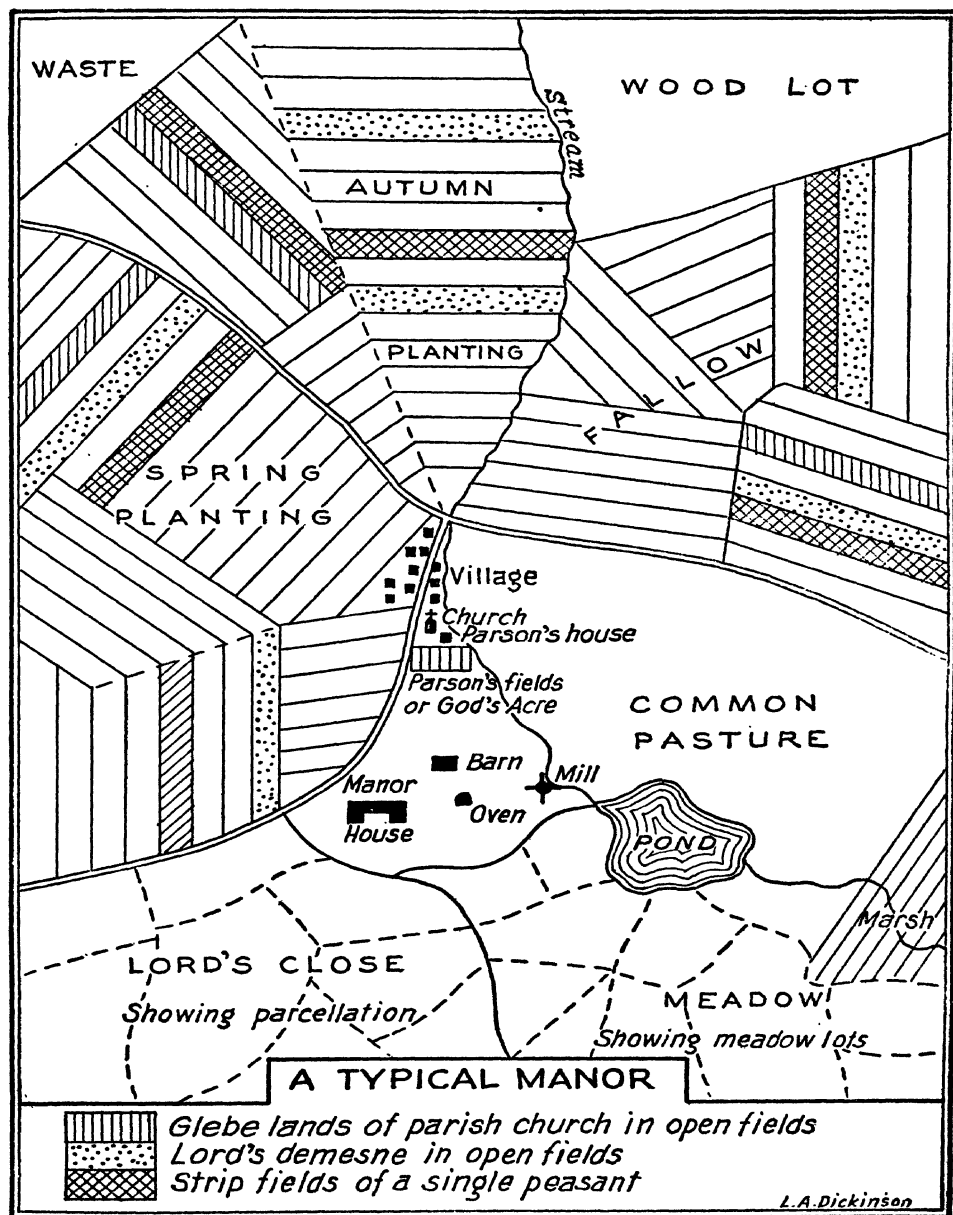
about 120 acres. The parcellation resulted from the every day experience and observation that a team of oxen could plough about so much in a day, as the graphic German word for a ploughland, *Morgenland* or "morning land" shows. But we find further subdivision of the ploughland into lesser areas of 60, 40, 30, even 20 acres called "virgates" or "yardlands" or by many other local terms. Thus the ploughlands of an old manor might in course of time become split up into a bewildering patchwork of pieces of land, some here, some there, some in a third locality, and the peasant's "farm" would be the sum of all these tenures wherever found.

Each householder owned a larger or smaller number of these strips in severalty. But he did not own them unconditionally. For the ultimate title to all the land of the village was vested in the lord of the manor who owned the village. These strips were "tenures" (from *Tenures* Latin *tenere*, to hold) which "held" the serf, not he them, to the performance of certain services and the payment of certain taxes imposed by the lord proprietor. If he failed to comply with these conditions, onerous as they often were, the serf was liable to ejection from the community and doomed to become a vagrant (*homo migrans*). In a hard and violent age, this was a precarious lot, for, being a masterless man, with no one to protect him, he might then be captured by some slave-trader.

Close   The *close* was a portion of the demesne which the lord let separately under different and more profitable conditions than the tenures. The *The common* four kinds of common land in the manor explain their own nature: *lands* the pasture, the meadow, the woods, the waste. The fact that these tracts were used in common must not be taken as evidence that communal ownership *of the arable*, too, had once obtained in very early times. It is not proved that communal ownership of the ploughland of the primitive German village ever existed. Nor must this communal ownership, in so far as it is found in the medieval manor, to be taken as evidence of former social equality in the early German village community, which continued even after the village lost its freedom. Not much labor was required in the exploitation of the common property of the village, except in getting in the hay of the meadow and cutting firewood or timber in the woods. Hay was necessary to winter the stock and so before the grass grew long the meadow was divided by lines of stakes into squares or strips according to the head

of stock which each householder possessed. The cattle fed in the pasture, in the meadow after the hay was in, which was supplemented by the young grass on the fallow.

Coöperative labor was necessary in ploughing and harvesting time. *Coöperative labor* No single villager could plough or harvest unassisted; even if the peasant had a plow of his own he had not enough oxen to draw it. The stubborn glebe was hard to cut with the rude plow of the time, a forked tree-trunk, with the angle stub sharpened, perhaps with a sharp iron shoe at the end, but without share or mold board. Unlike the strong, heavy modern oxen, medieval oxen were thin and light animals hardly larger than heifers. The plow-team was often made up of all the available oxen in the hamlet, twenty or more hitched by doubles to the tongue of the plow. The same coöperation was required at harvest time. Rye, wheat and oats when ripe must be garnered at once lest the heads lose their grains; and during harvest, men, women and children all worked in the fields. Hay also is a precarious crop, and must be put under cover as soon as it is dry lest it be mildewed with rain.

Only the best stock was carried through the winter. Old oxen, hogs *Livestock* and sheep were killed; and the meat was salted or smoked. The best meat went to the cellars of the manorhouse. Hay frequently gave out before spring and the animals had to be fed on straw or tree loppings. Hence it often happened that the cattle in the spring were so weakened by starvation that they could barely walk to pasture when the young grass began to appear. Wolves were a pest, especially to sheep. Hogs, though, could shift for themselves summer and winter; they fed on acorns and beechnuts in the woods and the tusked boars were able to defend the herd from wolves.

The different sorts of serfs in a manor had varying services imposed on them according to their status. Excluding the few slaves who *the serfs* were employed as household domestics and not for outdoor labor, the praedial serfs were the lowest. They were bound to their tenures— "bound to the glebe" as the phrase was—for life and from father to *Serfs and* son, and obligated to perform many onerous services. A second kind, of *villeins* unfree status, were not indefinitely bound to a tenure; they might even dwell outside of the manor, being loaned out to some other proprietor or working artisans in town; but they were always subject to the charges and incapacities arising from a servile condition. A third class of serfs

were those who were personally free, but who had undertaken to work a servile tenure; their serfdom was the consequence of the tenure they held. Legally these were *villeins* and not serfs, for the manorial impositions laid upon the villein—villein services—were clearly defined and limited. The villein was not "taxable to the limit" (*taillable à merci*) as was the serf. These villeins were, in origin, dependent freemen (*hospites*) who drifted into the manor from other places, and were allotted lands to work by the lord out of his "close" or his demesne, if he chose to divide that tract. The villein's tenure, instead of being among those of the serfs, was cut out of the lord's land, and did not have the vexatious exactions attached to it which were attached to servile tenure. Villeinage was the highest form of serfdom.

The villein (margin note)

Finally—late in the twelfth and in the thirteenth centuries—we find another and higher class of villeins, "free villeins" in the most progressive manors, who were tenant farmers working a plot of farm land on shares (*métayage*). These tracts were neither from among the serfs' strips nor yet out of the lord's close, but were lands newly broken out of the forest or the waste. For the population of Europe began rapidly to increase in the eleventh century, so that almost every manorial village grew in numbers and required more land for cultivation. Above villeinage was the free peasantry. The free villein class was recruited from emancipated serfs and from free peasants who preferred to farm on shares for the protection it gave them.

The lord's domain was a miniature state. He had his local court in each manor; he collected taxes from his tenantry, usually in the form of compulsory services. Manorial impositions were of every degree, the rates varied with local custom, and were given a great number of names. But all these impositions may be classified under three heads: (1) services, (2) renders, (3) banalities. Services were exactions of from one to three days' work of the tenantry without compensation. The most general one of these was the ploughing, seeding and harvesting of the demesne, which therefore cost the lord nothing to exploit. The chief other service was the *corvée*, a certain amount of compulsory work in road-making, ditch-making, bridge repair, carting, etc. This was capable of great abuse and custom tended to fix the *corvée* to a definite amount of work.

Services (margin note)

The three principal "renders" were the *census* or *chevage*, a head tax payable annually by the serf to his manorial lord. It might be a few

Renders (margin note)

pence, or so many pounds of butter or wax. It was not heavy, but was detested because it was the outward sign of the condition of servitude. Another kind of cens was indirectly a land tax in that it rose from land ownership. It was levied under a host of names, most commonly the *champart*. This was a tax of so many sheaves of grain, so many bushels of vegetables, so many chickens, geese, ducks, eggs, to a tenth, twelfth, fifteenth, twentieth part. The *tallage* or *taille* was a true direct tax *Taille* levied on the income of the serf; it might be on his land (*taille réal*) or upon his movables (*taille personelle*). In the early stages of feudalism it was most often paid in kind, but with the development of a money economy it tended to be commuted into a money payment. The rate varied according to local custom. It was a tax capable of great abuse and liable to be onerous, and the servile population strenuously demanded that it be made fixed in amount. In the twelfth century it generally became so, and the worst grievance arising from it was mitigated.

The banalities were taxes arising from the lord's properties. Thus *Banalities* he owned the mill, the bake-oven, the wine-press, the local brew-house, sometimes even the village well and the village bull. Every serf on the manor was required to bring his grain to the lord's mill to be ground; his flour to the lord's oven to be baked; his grapes to the lord's wine-press; his barley to the lord's brew-house; his cows to the lord's bull to be bred. Other banalities arose from the lord's "justice," and were the fines levied in the lord's court for trivial offences like crimes of petty violence, or petty property contentions between serfs.

The lord also possessed the rights of *formariage, mortmain* and *heriot*. The serf, not being able to dispose freely of his person, was compelled to ask the authorization of his lord to marry. When he espoused a woman of the same domain there was little difficulty; and the mar- *Other rights* riage fee was not deeply resented. But if he wanted to marry a woman *of the lord* of another domain, the lord, fearing the loss of his serf, refused his consent. Nevertheless it was not possible to forbid the marriage of serfs from different domains, so that the primitive prohibition was changed in the eleventh century into a "render" or payment to the lord for the right. This is the origin of *formariage* (the prefix for means "outside"). *Formariage* The Church objected to divisions of families so usually one lord traded with the other an unmarried serf for the one who was married, to keep

the family together. Commonly the wife went with the husband and not the husband with the wife.

In late Roman times the lord could eject the colon at will. Gradually the tenure became one for life and then hereditary. But the serf did not own the property; he was a permanent lessee; the title was *Heriot*   vested in the lord. This inheritance tax was called a *hèriot*, and was a heavy and very abusive tax. Frequently the lord stripped the peasant's cottage of all his gear and was certain to take the best ox as his due. The Church, as a perpetual corporation, was the only institution which *Mortmain*   escaped payment of succession taxes. This inalienable tenure was called *mortmain*.

Tithes   To all these manorial taxes must finally be added the *tithe*. Originally tithes were ecclesiastical exactions, but in the ninth century the right to impose them was appropriated in many places by the proprietary nobles, as the church upon the lord's domain was a dependency of the domain. The Carolingian kings tried in vain to stop this manorial engrossment of tithes; but the tithe became seigniorial rather than an ecclesiastical imposition and a customary portion of the lord's manorial revenue.

A medieval manor was largely, though not completely, self-*Self-sufficiency*   sufficient. All the necessary food was produced on the place, except *of the manor*   such luxuries as spices, pepper and silk, which, as we have seen, were imported. In winter the wool was dyed and woven into cloth by the women; the hides were tanned and worked up into shoes, saddles and harness by the men; every manor had a wheelwright and a blacksmith. Iron, millstones and salt had to be brought from the outside.

The   The peasant's life was hard, his food simple—but he drank wine or *and the soil*   cider, not water—his cottage was comfortless, the village hygiene abominable, the labor long and heavy. Yet we must not exaggerate the peasant's misery. Until the Crusades he knew no other life. He was inured to toil and accustomed to little. He had no wants such as modern civilization creates for us. We may discount the contempt of the peasantry found in contemporary literature—our use of the word "villein" is a survival of this age—because the literature reflects the sentiments of the aristocracy. In England every peasant was "Hodge"; in France he was "Jacques." But not every Hodge or Jacques was "back-broken," "heavy of foot," dumb, with slanting brow and empty face. Many were straight-backed and sturdy men. Despised in the Middle Ages,

the peasant was sentimentalized in the eighteenth century, with its doctrine of "natural rights" and idealization of the primeval period as the golden age of mankind. Neither medieval times nor the ancient régime in France perceived that peasant psychology was formed by immemorial and intimate contact with the soil, which was the source of the peasant's suffering, but also of his delight.

All manorial lords were not cruel exploiters, though undoubtedly many were. Peasant insurrections recorded in the chronicles are more frequently found on church lands, not because the clergy was harder of heart, but because the church's administration usually was more intelligent and efficient, and the peasantry suffered from the pace and pressure exacted. The peasant had his days off, like Sundays and Saints' days; he went to the nearby market which met weekly, fortnightly or monthly. When fairs arose in the twelfth century, he and his whole family would go to them. If a strolling conjurer or band of acrobats or man with a dancing bear appeared at the manor and was given lodging for the night by the lord, all the villagers were likely to see the performance, sometimes in the big hall of the manorhouse, sometimes in the church—for a medieval parish church was like a modern community house; it was a social meeting place as well as a house of worship. Collections of peasant folk songs from the Middle Ages show that the peasant could be blithe, and there are interesting allusions to ploughmen singing in the furrow as they followed the oxen. On the other hand there are bitter medieval proverbs, as "A serf may be sold like a horse," "Where the plow goes, there goes the tithe," "No land, no taxes," "A horn for the noble, an ox for the (free) peasant, a pig or a goat for the serf."

The peasant regulated his seasonal labors by the saints' days. Spring ploughing must be begun after Easter, planting be over by Whitsuntide; harvesting began with St. John's Day or Midsummer Day (June 24) and must be over by Assumption Day (Aug. 15); in this time also fell the haying season; fruits were gathered between this day and St. Michael's Day (Sept. 23) and from then until St. Martin's Day (Nov. 11) the root crop was gathered.

The material lot of the serf improved noticeably in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and by the thirteenth it had been almost revolutionized. Before the Crusades we discern a number of changes which the Crusades stimulated. The curtailment of private war, the growing

authority of the greater feudatories over the less, the awakening of commerce and industry with improved roads and bridges, had begun to improve the countryside before the Crusades gave a new impulse to these changes. Everywhere in Europe the marked increase in population stimulated the clearing of forests and draining of swamplands. "The Crusades could not have taken place had it not been for the freeing of social forces during the half century preceding their inception in the year 1095." Serfdom had been slowly shrinking before the Crusades. Then the Crusades brought a general demand for money which compelled the change of manorial services to money payments and helped to fix them. The manorial proprietors discovered, too, that it was economically more profitable to employ freemen as hired day-laborers because they worked with better spirit and produced more than serfs. The serfs were thus freed for economic and not humanitarian reasons. To keep his serfs at all the lord had to free them or they ran away. Sometimes whole villages seem to have migrated. The great military and colonizing expeditions of the eleventh century, like the Norman conquest in Lower Italy and Sicily, the Spanish "crusades," the Norman Conquest of England, were accompanied by hundreds of runaway serfs, some of whom became hireling mercenaries in the ranks of the armies. A more peaceful example of the exodus of serfs *en masse* is found in the Flemish colonies established in eastern Germany. The Crusades themselves, especially the First Crusade, enabled thousands of serfs to break away. Serfdom lasted longer in Germany and England than in Italy or France. In Normandy it had entirely disappeared by the eleventh century. The abandonment of the requirement of week-work on the lord's demesne in many parts of France, the Low Countries and Italy, is an index of this great change. Serfdom lingered on into the thirteenth century in almost every quarter of Europe, but it was a declining institution.

Decline of serfdom

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CHAPTER XXI

THE MEDIEVAL TOWN

THE place above all to which the serf betook himself was the town. For the common people of Europe, the rise of the towns is the most important phenomenon of the feudal age. It was a political, economic and social revolution of the first magnitude.

No historical continuity can be shown between the city of antiquity and the medieval town. The ancient city's institutions perished, its people disappeared; only the memory of a vanished Roman city, and a crumbling wall or tower survived. Where the ancient city survived at all, it was so transformed that it would have been unrecognizable to a Roman ruler. The most important former Roman cities had become seats of bishoprics and were governed by bishops. Commerce and industry had shrunk to local dimension. A few luxuries such as silk, spices and frankincense were precariously imported from the East at enormous expense for the benefit of the clergy and the services of the Church. This trade was almost entirely in the hands of *Disappearance* Jews from the Orient, who were birds of passage; the Christian merchant had vanished. The towns-people were serfs like the peasantry in the country; but they were employed in the shops of the bishop or the chapter or monastery as artisans and craftsmen more than as farmers. The jurisdiction of the bishop extended some miles beyond the walls of the city; and this region was dotted with hamlets of farming serfs on whose production the inhabitants within the walls lived. After the disappearance of the Roman Empire, the medieval town was a manor with an unusually dense population less engaged in farming than in industry and petty trade. In the bishop's town was nothing except those things indispensable to worship, and the daily support of the clergy; a local market with its tax (tonlieu) on the surviving trade, a mint, warehouses to store the bishop's harvest and fruits and vegetables which had been raised outside the town, a cathedral or monastery school, a few vassals of the bishop, perhaps, and finally the mass of servitors and small artisans with their families.

In the feudal age new communities of serfs arose near the châteaux *Growth of* and the walled cloisters, and obtained protection from them. The *feudal com-* denser population of this social group, the confined area in which it *munities* dwelt, the protection which it enjoyed, stimulated homely industries rather than agriculture. Even if the serf worked in summer as a farm *Formation of* laborer, in winter he busied himself with wood-turning, leather- *new cloisters* working, weaving or making pottery. More and more this community *around castles* relied upon the country-side roundabout for food stuffs. The products *asteries* of these simple crafts were sold across the threshold of the maker's cottage or at the local market. But a greater commerce was made possible by wandering merchants, first Jews, then Lombards, who brought imported wares to sell to the noble and his family and vassals. At first these merchants were transient; then one by one they settled in the community not as serf-traders but as free *negotiatores* or *mercatores,* whose houses were real stores and not just places where one ware was made and bartered or sold.

In time the local lord permitted these merchants settled near the castle to build a compound or walled enclosure adjacent to it, for he found it profitable to have such a group whom he might tax and who drew others to the community. This walled compound was known as the *burg* and the traders dwelling within it were called *burgenses* or *The burg* burghers. Whether in episcopal towns or near a château or outside the walls of some abbey, these *burgenses* were everywhere the nucleus of the future town community; and the limited rights given them by the lord, whether bishop, abbot or noble, were the beginnings of the chartered liberties of the future town. The long eclipse of town life in Europe passed with the ultimate political recognition of the towns. But between 500 and 1100 there is an appalling poverty of documentary reference to towns; and we may thus see for how many centuries town life had disappeared, and may appreciate the prolonged economic depression of Europe, when only the simplest commerce and industry existed.

Three factors directly helped to form the medieval town: the revival of commerce, the appearance of a merchant class and the creation of the burgs. For many years the towns reflected the agricultural condition of the age, and it was long before they became predominantly commercial and industrial. Their populations were almost unbelievably small. Until the eleventh century the greatest towns,

Mainz and Cologne in Germany, Milan and Pavia in Lombard Italy, Paris and Lyons in France, had not more than eight or ten thousand persons in them.

In the eleventh century, however, many events conspired to favor the growth of the towns. The Normans established themselves in northern France, in England, drove the Saracens out of Lower Italy and Sicily and suppressed Arab piracy in the Mediterranean. In Germany the Slavs were stopped on the Elbe, the Hungarians in the bend of the Danube. The Peace of God and the Truce of God suppressed the worst evils of baronial warfare and protected the merchant. The great reformation of the Church was begun by Cluny and the popes. Population increased; forests were cleared and swamps were drained, and more land was cultivated. Finally, and most powerful, was the influence of the Crusades. All these forces tended to break down the manorial system; land ceased to be the sole source of the production of wealth.

Growth of towns in eleventh century

As the result of the Crusades the Italian maritime cities entered vigorously in the rich Levantine trade. Venice, indeed, by exception had never been an agrarian community. From its foundation it had subsisted on trade. But Amalfi, Genoa, Pisa, soon arose as its rivals; then Marseilles, Narbonne and Barcelona. The traffic in eastern goods became so great that it could not all be accommodated at these great ports. A large part of it found its way up the Po, where the Lombard cities were middlemen for its distribution over the Alpine passes, and became wealthy. Once the "bishops' lane," the Rhine became the merchants' lane through Central Europe; and on its tributaries, the Main and the Moselle, these oriental wares were distributed all over Central Europe. The greatest cluster of fairs of the Middle Ages arose in Champagne and were fed by this rich commerce. Farther down, where the Rhine expands into a delta and where the Meuse and the Scheldt converge upon it, burghal communities gradually grew up around the castles of the counts of Flanders at Bruges, Ghent, Lille and Ypres; around the castle of the dukes of Brabant at Mons; around walled monasteries like St. Vaast at Arras and at St. Omer; and then expanded into chartered towns.

Increase of commerce

The Baltic and the North Seas began to rival the Mediterranean as commercial lakes. The Norse commercial empire had once stretched

from Kiev and Novgorod to London, Newcastle and Bristol in Eng- *Growth of*
land, to Rouen in France, to Dublin and Waterford in Ireland, even *commerce*
to Iceland and Greenland. In the twelfth century the central country *in northern*
in all this immense area was Flanders, whose rivers and whose sea- *Europe*
board put it into contact with all Northern Europe as well as with
Central Europe and Italy. Physical geography explains why city life
in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was greatest and most intense
in Lombardy and Flanders. Caravans of merchants traveling by
land; flotillas of merchant barges on the rivers; Mediterranean,
Baltic, North Sea and cross-channel shipping became a familiar sight
at this time. The number of merchants greatly increased, no longer
only Jews but Lombards, Tuscans, Venetians, Genoese, Flemings,
Germans, Provençals. Other merchants arose, native to each of these
countries, to compete with the traveling importer. Fairs multiplied *Fairs*
all over Europe, for local markets now failed to meet the new de-
mands of the people and wholesale trade emerged. The volume and
variety of commerce increased by leaps and bounds.

In the thirteenth century old trade routes were changed and new
ones opened. Constantinople was conquered by the western crusaders
in 1204 and the Latin Empire of Constantinople was founded. The
Albigensian Crusades, though they destroyed much of the prosperous
commerce of Languedoc, gave the kings of France an opening on the
Mediterranean, and the ravages of the war were quickly repaired by *Changes in*
the administration of St. Louis. Marseilles and Barcelona entered into *trade routes*
the Levantine trade. The Teutonic Knights in Prussia promoted Ger-
man eastward trade expansion on the Baltic coast and founded the
port towns of Libau, Memel and Reval. The Mongol destruction of
Kiev (1240), broke the Black Sea-Baltic trade route, and Novgorod
profited by establishing trade connections with the newly risen ports
of Esthonia and Kurland and so with North Germany. The Mongol
destruction of Baghdad (1258) re-routed Asiatic commerce from its
old exits on the Mediterranean to a new exit through Trebizond.
In 1261 the Genoese overthrew Venice's monopoly on the Golden
Horn and succeeded to her former trade in the Black Sea. But
Venice acquired control of the former Syrian trade, driven in 1291 to
Cyprus by the Egyptian conquest of Palestine and Syria. After the
conquest of Sicily in 1282 by Aragon, the Aragonese cities rapidly de-

veloped a great commerce in the Mediterranean. Castile, by the capture of Seville in 1242 and Cadiz in 1262, reached the sea and became a commercial and sea power.

The heroic epoch of the towns may be said to lie between 1075, when Cologne rebelled successfully against its bishop, and 1183, when the cities of the Lombard League secured chartered rights of self-government from Frederick Barbarossa. Cologne's action, however, was an isolated instance. The Italian towns were naturally the leaders in the movement to obtain autonomy; they were followed by the towns of Provence, the lower Rhine and Flanders. We are tempted to think that the rise of the towns was a violent upheaval. It is true that we do find records of tumult and revolt in such places as Milan, Cambrai, Cologne, Laon; but the rise of the towns was usually slow. Gradually they won recognition from the feudality, and an increase in their chartered rights. The lords reluctantly relinquished their executive, police, taxing and judicial power and the towns as slowly acquired them. The completed form of these successive grants or cessions was the charter, which was a written instrument of government, the constitution of the town, and carefully guarded in the town archives.

Spread of town movement

This charter was not broadly and loosely granted to all the *cives* or inhabitants of the town, but always to an inner group among them. The origin and nature of this group varied according to the past history of the community. Sometimes it was a merchant group; sometimes a body of craftsmen; sometimes the bailiff and his assistants (*villici*) on a thickly populated manor; sometimes a group of ministerials or former serfs who had been employed in domestic administration on a secular or monastery manor; sometimes the custodians of an ancient market. But whatever its composition, this group was the town corporation, the legal town, from whom the mayor, the aldermen (widely called consuls) and other town officials were chosen. This oligarchy gradually extended the franchise or "liberties" of the town to other inhabitants, always the richer element. The lower classes were denied the franchise, shut out from the town hall and town government. Thus the medieval town, though democratic when compared to the feudal privileged classes, was aristocratic and oligarchic in its government. The tumultuous history of the towns in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is explained by this political, economic and social cleavage in the population. There was a constant con-

The citizens named by the charter

Town charters

flict between the "bourgeoisie" and the lower classes, between the rich employers and the working classes. The trade and craft gilds, which had begun as associations of free and equal workers, fell under the mastery of the rich, and were converted into exclusive corporations which controlled capital, manipulated prices, and regulated wages and hours of work.

The phenomenon of the rise and spread of the towns was constantly repeated. Lombardy and Flanders, the most typical centres of town life, anticipated the history of all the rest; that history varied infinitely in detail, of course, but the fundamental factors and conditions were universal. The rise of commerce and industry created the towns. What differences are found are due to local political conditions or particular economic environment and geographical location. The factor of imitation was very strong. One town might borrow intact the administrative institutions of another town. Whole "families" of towns are *"Families" of* thus found. This practice was not hindered by dividing political or *towns* even national lines of partition. Some towns of north-eastern France were like Rhenish towns in form of government; some Provençal towns imitated Italian cities. The rise of the towns was an international, not a national movement.

Once established and encircled by a wall, the town grew by the formation around it of suburbs in which dwelt the poorer classes. In time a new wall would be thrown around these suburbs, they would be incorporated with the town proper and the old inner wall destroyed. *Town walls* Usually the site of the old wall was converted into a street; this accounts for the circular form of the oldest part of many European towns, such as Vienna, Munich, Paris. The new towns founded in eastern Germany by German colonists who dispossessed the Slavs, and the towns founded in southern France after the Albigensian Crusades had so destroyed the old towns, were more artificial, more symmetrical, but less picturesque in effect. Not having grown by natural accretion, they were laid out with straight streets intersecting at right angles, so that the effect of the ground plan was that of a gridiron.

Many towns, except those in Lombardy and Flanders, for a long time—indeed even for centuries—still retained within their boundaries areas and groups of the population which were exempt from the municipal jurisdiction. Such spots were survivals of previous feudal or ecclesiastical dominion. Even Paris had such enclaves as late as the

reign of Louis XIV. Marseilles and Poitiers were a mosaic of fiefs. In the former the bishop and the abbey of St. Victor shared jurisdiction with the municipality; in the latter the count-duke of Poitou and the bishop divided rule with the town authorities.

Outside the main gate of the town were the public gallows, with perhaps a corpse or two still swinging in the wind and pecked at by the crows. On iron spikes over the gate were the weathering heads of other criminals. A deep moat, dry or wet, surrounded the main wall. At intervals along the wall were towers, some times only three hundred feet apart. The entrance through the walls was protected by a great gate or draw bridge. From gate to gate inside the town ran streets wide enough to permit the passage of carts bringing produce from the coun-

The town try. Inside the walls ran another street designed to permit defending soldiers to move quickly to threatened points on the wall. The rest of the streets were usually crooked and perhaps ten feet in width or even less. The projecting upper stories of the houses made the streets seem even narrower than they were. There were no sidewalks beyond mere

Insanitary footpaths along the houses. Refuse was thrown in the streets and the
conditions unwary pedestrian might suddenly be drenched by the contents of a pail of garbage thrown without warning from some upper story win- dow. Rain and the numerous pigs which roamed about at large, cleaned the streets of this refuse. As sanitation was so primitive and as wells were usually the only water supply of cities not on rivers, fevers were rife and the death rates of the cities were very high as compared with modern cities. At night except for an occasional light burning before a shrine, the streets were dark. Thieves and robbers were so numerous that it was unsafe to go about unescorted. The honest householder at nightfall usually battened his windows with thick wooden planks and fastened his doors with chain and lock.

The Italian cities were the first to pave their streets. Paris had no paved streets until Philip Augustus paved the roadway in front of the
Paving Louvre in 1184. Once paving was begun, the rivalry of the cities soon led them all to pave their chief streets. Between 1300 and 1400 in northern Europe such towns as Lübeck, Strassburg, Prague, Nurem- berg and Frankfort began paving streets and by the end of the fifteenth century the principal German cities had streets paved with flint stone.

As the area of the city was limited by its walls, land was very valu- able. To obtain a return on their property, landowners erected tall

buildings and charged high rents. The city government, to prevent too great crowding and perhaps to make sure that no private building should be as tall as the town hall or the cathedral, might limit the height of buildings. Amsterdam forbade the erection of any building *Height of* higher than the third story of the Rathaus. The archdeacon of Reims *buildings* had to look daily from the portholes in the eaves of the cathedral while a new building was erected, to make sure that it did not rise higher than the eaves of the cathedral. Houses in Venice could not exceed seventy feet in height. Many people might own a large house coöperatively, each holding a few rooms. Overcrowding was frequent and as many as sixteen people might live in three rooms. The town sometimes rented spaces on the walls or in the moats for gardens or cottages; the towers of the walls were used for granaries and stables. The center of the town was the public square, which held the market place and was faced by the principal church or the town hall.

Once well established in its own privileges the town might welcome new inhabitants like serfs, who would contribute to the labor supply and who usually lived in the poorer sections outside the wall. But admission to citizenship was another matter. Men from outside the city were considered as foreigners, and some towns were willing to admit *Citizenship* them to citizenship and others were not. Never, in any case, was the *in the towns* process of becoming a citizen as simple as it is with us. To become a citizen a foreigner might have to pay a fee or buy property in the town, as token of his intentions. He not only swore allegiance to the customs of the town, but other responsible citizens had to sponsor him as a kind of guarantee that he would be law-abiding. He had to show that his financial status was satisfactory. He had to be willing to serve perhaps as a constable or as a juryman and to help defend the town if it were attacked. As a citizen he was permitted to share in the town privileges. He could use the town pastures, fish in the town waters and use the town ferries. He was protected in his trade against foreign competition and was assured a chance to buy food and materials for his trade at fair prices. Most important of all, he was free of the many personal services required of workers by manorial proprietors, and he was assured of a trial by his fellow citizens in the town court and of their support if he got in trouble with foreign merchants.

The medieval merchants, to protect themselves from predatory barons and to secure better treatment in a distant market, seem early

to have banded themselves together in merchant gilds. Then the merchant gilds began regulating trade in their own towns. The merchant gild forced every one not a gild member who wished to carry on business in the town to observe the common regulations, and usually to pay a fee for the privilege. Thus the gild merchant was protected from excessive competition. The gild also attempted, and often with great success, to enforce provisions which protected the quality of goods. Medieval men were thoroughly imbued with the Church doctrine of a fair wage and a fair price and could hardly imagine an unregulated competitive market in which the buyer is supposed to beware. As long as medieval commerce was fairly simple the merchant gilds alone could regulate it fairly well. But as it grew more complicated, the craft gilds arose. This means that commerce and industry became distinguished.

Craft gilds

The craft gild, like the merchant gild, in time became selective in its membership. Before being admitted to membership, the applicant was required to give satisfactory evidence of his religious orthodoxy and political loyalty as well as technical competence. Within the gild

Apprentices

were the grades of apprentice, journeyman and master. The apprentice paid a fee to be received. In return he was given his board and clothes and lodging within the master's house. He could not sleep outside the master's house and the master exercised a moral supervision over him as well as a technical one. After an apprenticeship of from two to seven years, he became a journeyman and could work for small wages. A journeyman became a master by demonstrating his competence in his craft and then, if he had enough capital, he might set up in business for himself. All industry was "domestic." The merchant might sell his wares at the town market or through the window of his house. His shop might be in the rear of the house or even in the house itself. There the apprentice, journeyman and master all worked together.

The gilds were very numerous and indicate an increasing subdivision of work. In Florence we find seven great gilds: notaries, cloth importers and dyers, bankers, drapers—the woolen gild was the richest in the city—doctors and pharmacists, silk merchants and furriers.

*Numbers
of gilds*

There were sixteen minor gilds: butchers, pork butchers, shoemakers, iron workers, leather workers, stone masons, wine dealers, bakers, oil dealers, linen drapers, locksmiths, armorers, harness makers and sad-

dlers, carpenters and innkeepers. As the gilds became increasingly specialized—in the working of leather about a dozen different gilds have been listed in a single town—disputes arose among them much like the jurisdictional disputes among our trade unions as to whether the plumbers or the steam fitters shall install a new device not provided for in the original arrangements between the unions.

At their best the gilds were far more than mere trade organizations. *Gild* They insisted upon skilled workmanship. The manufacture of goods *regulations* was so standardized that it was possible to set standard prices. Even the conditions of sale, such as the methods of measuring cloth, were carefully standardized in an attempt to make an equitable arrangement between buyer and seller. The gild tried to make sure that its own members would observe their contracts with one another, prohibited masters from discharging workmen without satisfactory cause and forced workmen in turn to abide by their contracts to remain specified times. A gildsman expected his fellows to let him know if a good bargain were to be had of a new seller and in turn he was expected to make public any such bargains he had made. He was not supposed to offer higher wages or to keep more workers than others, and the hours of his workers were also standardized. Thus the gild attempted to regulate both the manufacturing costs and the selling prices of its members.

The gild, if it were sufficiently technical, tried to keep its processes *Gild* secret, for years. The Venetian glass blowers maintained a practical *social life* monopoly on their processes. It was also a great part of the social life of its members. The gildsmen celebrated the numerous feast days together, perhaps with pageants or plays of their own. The gild performed the charitable duties of caring for its members who fell ill or who had become poor. Gildsmen attended the funerals of members who died, had masses said for the repose of their souls and attempted to care for their families. The gild frequently had political functions as well as all these other activities, and in the free cities particularly the gilds jointly controlled the city governments.

As the gilds grew in power there was an almost inevitable tendency for them to abuse it. They had always tried to protect their members from too much competition by limiting the number of apprentices who *Change* could be admitted and perhaps by having the town charge a tariff on *in gild* foreign goods. In time the gilds became more and more exclusive and *membership*

it became increasingly difficult for an ordinary workman to be admitted. Now, instead of working as an apprentice in the home of the master, he received his raw materials from the gild-master and worked it up in his own dwelling. He became ever more subject to unemployment and went on strike to prevent a cut in wages or to obtain higher wages. By the end of the Middle Ages the workers had become merely a mass of men differentiated only by their occupation. Above them were the master workmen, the superintendents, and at the head of the city were the rich employers grouped in great craft companies. Of the unskilled workman in the Middle Ages we know nothing.

The difficulties in the way of medieval commerce were enormous, to our modern way of judging. The great Roman roads, carefully built of stone and running directly between the most important points, had disintegrated in long centuries of neglect. Medieval roads were simply paths running through the country, and as they were not graded and as they had no ditches at the side they were usually either muddy or dusty. Bad spots in the road, where the slight crust had been broken through, were crudely repaired with rushes or fagots or boughs of trees. Bridges were infrequent and poor, and the traveler most frequently had to ford rivers or to cross on rude ferries. We have an amusing indication of the state of the roads in the account of a peasant lad employed by a monastery who "was sent by the prior to bring green hay from the meadow. The servants loaded this upon an ass which, on the way homeward, passed through a certain sunken way, where the load was caught between the banks on either side and the ass, slipping away, came home without the boy's knowledge. He stood by the hay, smiting it oftentimes and threatening the ass (which he did not know had got away) as best he could. Nor did he stir from the spot until the brethren came out to find him, who could scarce persuade him that the ass was clean gone and that the hay could not walk without a beast of burden."

As a result of these conditions medieval merchants used pack horses or mules to carry their wares. The humblest merchants, the chapmen, carried their goods on their own backs and traveled on foot. Carts were probably earliest used in Italy, where the cities endeavored to keep the roads in fair shape. Later in France and Germany we find that rude carts were also used, strongly built and with small wheels to keep balance better in the ruts. But as a usual thing

carts were only used to transport goods to the local markets, or fairs.

There were of course many efforts to keep the roads in passable condition. Cistercian monks, who established themselves in out-of-the-way districts, turned their industrious hands to the building and maintenance of roads. Proprietors of land along the highways were supposed to keep their share of the roads in condition and the tolls they levied were supposed to be so used. But though the tolls were frequent—they were levied at bridges, for merely traveling on certain roads, or even for protection while crossing the lands of some noble, and thus increased the cost of transportation very considerably —unfortunately little of the money was actually spent upon the roads. Though the merchant added these toll charges to the selling price of his goods, nevertheless he found them irksome and, of course, the high prices he was forced to ask for his wares immediately reduced the number of people who could buy from him. The merchant thus paid for roads which were supposed to be both passable and safe and got little return for his money. The desire of any lord to improve his own roads was also diminished by the fact that unless every one else kept the roads in condition, his single efforts were not of much service. In many territories the lord even claimed all goods which might fall off upon his own stretch of road.

The Church considered the building and maintenance of roads so important that it declared it a pious act to maintain them, as commendable as to give alms or undertake a pilgrimage, and equally deserving of indulgences. Among the many medieval religious orders there was even an order of Bridge Brothers—the *Fratres Pontis*. The governments also attempted to encourage road building and to make travel safe. Henry I of England tried to enforce the making of highways wide enough to permit two carts to pass each other, or for sixteen soldiers to ride abreast. A later statute provided that roads between market towns should be cleared of trees and shrubs for two hundred feet on each side, so that robbers could not lurk along the roadside. There were, in the Middle Ages, always numerous men eager to make their living as highwaymen. Robber barons, mercenary soldiers, ordinary criminals, and in the late Middle Ages impoverished knights, infested the highways. Though the political authorities endeavored to maintain order, in general the merchants had to protect themselves. The cities sometimes paid nobles who held land

along the roads to suppress robbers. A great merchant might hire men to guard his wares in transit, but more frequently the merchants traveled together for mutual protection. The inns of the time were at first infrequent and none too safe, and again we find the Church performing a much needed function by establishing shelters and hospices in lonely or dangerous places. These offered their hospitality to all travelers. As commerce and travel increased, private enterprise, of course, provided additional inns and later we are told that the merchants usually resorted to them, and that the monasteries customarily entertained the rich, whom they were glad to cultivate, and the poor, whom they were glad to aid.

Speed of travel

Travel was necessarily very slow, and in terms of time, Europe was much larger then than it is now. The courier service was, however, probably as fast as any such service until the coming of steam. The news of the death of Barbarossa in Asia Minor reached Germany in four months. The news of the capture of Richard I in Dalmatia reached England in a month. The trip from Rome to Canterbury was customarily made in seven weeks. The couriers of the Italian banks made their trips to the Champagne Fairs in twenty or twenty-five days. The messengers who told Louis XI of the death of his father covered 530 kilometres in less than two days, though in making this speed they rode their horses to death. But a fair average rate of travel was eighteen or twenty miles a day. We do not wonder that Chaucer's pilgrims to Canterbury sought to beguile the time by telling stories on the way.

Medieval ships

As a single boat could carry as much freight as five hundred pack horses, the merchants shipped by water as much as possible. Barges and boats on the rivers were so common that gilds of "keelmen" were formed in all the large river towns in France, Italy and Germany. But tolls on the rivers also were annoyingly frequent, sometimes at distances of only six miles or so. And as the nobles who levied the tolls so often failed to use the money they received to keep the rivers navigable, the merchants of the river cities frequently formed associations to take over the toll rights. They then saw that the rivers were dredged and kept open, that the tow paths were maintained and that docks were built. Though travel by sea also had its dangers, there was a greater improvement in navigation than in travel by land during the medieval period. Originally the ships sailed along the

coast, always in sight of land, for though the danger of shipwreck was great, to be lost at sea was worse. Only after the compass was brought into general use in the fourteenth century did ships sail directly across the Mediterranean. Then the supply of nautical information also increased, and sailors were given better charts, and information upon such vital subjects as the prevailing winds was increased. By 1500, of course, navigators were sailing the open seas.

Ships increased in size and seaworthiness. William the Conqueror crossed to England in boats of about 30 tons which carried 50 or 60 men. In the time of Edward III the average English ships were about 200 tons, the largest perhaps 300. They carried crews, 65 men for each 100 tons, and about half as many archers and soldiers. The ships of the Mediterranean Sea were larger than those used in the North and Baltic Seas, possibly because the northern harbors were shallower. During the Crusades Venetian galleys are said to have carried 500 tons of cargo "under hatches, besides a large cargo upon their decks." Including the crew, these ships might carry 800 or even 1000 persons, though these figures alone will hardly indicate their sizes to us, as the passengers were crowded in very badly. Each common passenger might be given a space on the deck, marked off with chalk, the length of a man and the width of a cot and there he was supposed to sleep, and sit. One Venetian ship provided for Louis IX was 108 feet long and carried 110 seamen. The largest ships had several cabins in the bow and stern and two decks almost six feet high. Columbus's ship the *Santa Maria* was probably about 200 tons, with a crew of about sixty. In comparison with even moderate sized modern ships, of course, these ships were very small. Modern liners could carry comfortably the entire population of many medieval cities of some fame. Three thousand people live in comparative comfort and ease on a modern liner of 60,000 tons, and of course many freighters can carry cargoes of 10,000 tons and more.

The Mediterranean galley was usually propelled by oars, and sails were used only when running before the wind. The labor of rowing must have been tremendous, even though some galleys had as many as 200 oarsmen. Galley slaves were most cruelly treated, and sometimes were even chained to their benches. Yet one medieval traveler reported that merchants "sometimes became voluntary galley slaves in order that they might ply their trade in harbors."

We think of American factories, with their mass production, as being the first to employ a kind of moving chain system of work. Yet in Venice the technique of loading and unloading a vessel was organized in somewhat the same way. The famous Arsenal was "like a great street on either hand with the sea in the middle." Warehouses, each with its particular kinds of goods, lined the water-front and a galley making ready for a voyage was towed from one warehouse to another and filled "from both sides with everything that might be required, and when the galley reached the end of the pier she was equipped from end to end." For safety, ships had lines of maximum load marked on their hulls, and inspectors made sure that this load was not exceeded.

Pirates were almost as numerous at sea as robbers on land, and accordingly the ships sailed usually in fleets for protection against attack, sometimes with convoys of specially armed ships. Throughout the medieval period the fleets made only seasonal voyages, at times when the weather would not be too rough for sailing. The maritime cities, though indignant if their own fleets were attacked by pirates, did not hesitate to allow pirates to attack the fleets of rival cities, and there were many trade wars between cities which were almost like *Piracy and* wars of groups of pirates. As commerce grew, however, it was found *shipwreck* advisable to suppress piracy, at least in the territories claimed by particular cities. Thus Venice laid claim to the Adriatic and effectively suppressed piracy there, and the Hanseatic League rid the North and Baltic Seas of many marauders. The danger of shipwreck, always threatening enough, was made worse by the law of wreck, which declared that goods washed ashore or left in a stranded vessel were the property of the owner of the adjoining shore. Peasants or local fishermen, probably with the connivance of their lords, might place lights in misleading positions on shore and so cause unsuspecting mariners to wreck their boats. Though the injustice of this law was acknowledged, it was difficult to curb the practice, which persisted for centuries. Henry I of England declared that if any person escaped alive from a stranded vessel it was not legally a wreck. A later law provided that pilots who, in the pay of lords on the coast, deliberately wrecked their vessels, were to be hanged. The lord who connived with wreckers or with a ship's pilot was to be burned in his own house. The members of the Hanseatic League agreed that shipwrecked

property in the territories of the member cities should be returned to its owners. But as in the case of robbery on land, it was difficult to suppress piracy and wrecking, and usually the injured cities attempted reprisals on citizens of the offending state.

Nevertheless, as there were no tolls at sea and as the ships could carry heavy cargoes, shipping increased greatly. Ships were even specially built to carry horses. The horses were led into the ship through a door in the stern which was then closed and calked, "being underwater when the ship was at sea." But at its best, medieval transportation was so difficult and ran so many risks that it was very costly and a premium was put on the carriage of articles which were very valuable in proportion to their bulk. Even on precious cargoes like spices, freight was so expensive that they were twice as expensive in Flanders as in Venice, and a bulky commodity like English wool cost much more in Florence than in England.

For many centuries the fair was the great meeting place of medieval merchants. Every great fief and every city had its fair, where foreign traders came to buy and sell, but the most famous fairs *The Champagne Fairs* were those of Champagne. This fertile plain of France was ruled for three centuries by able counts who promoted the commercial interests of their territory very effectively, and the importance of the Champagne fairs was so great that a foreign merchant who defaulted his obligations made at the fair could be forced to honor his commitments by the threat of barring all his fellow citizens from the fairs. Elsewhere fairs were held in perhaps a single great hall provided for the purpose, but in the Champagne towns spacious halls and storehouses were spread about the entire city. A regular routine was developed for the conduct of the fairs to obviate confusion and to give the able financial agents of the count a chance to make sure that all the proper payments were made to his coffers. The fairs were run in a cycle which took almost the entire year. Lagny opened its fair in January. Then in order followed the fairs of Bar, the first fair of Provins, the first fair of Troyes, the second fair of Provins and, finally, the second fair of Troyes, which closed the week before Christmas. Then the cycle was repeated.

About a week before a fair began, merchants arrived to unpack their goods and to arrange their exhibits. Each day the fair was opened by the ringing of a bell and closed by the same signal, and

business was permitted only between those hours. During the first ten days of the fair, the *foire de draps,* only woolens were sold. Then for another ten days the fair of hides and furs went on. After the third fair, of *avoir de poids,* or things sold by weights and measures, five days were given the merchants to make their inventories, pay their dues to the count's officials for the privilege of having attended the fair, and obtain the seal of the fair upon important contracts. In the great throngs of merchants were men from all Europe and a list of the articles sold is a list of the products of medieval Europe: silks and spices from the Orient, woolens from Flanders and Italy, linen from Brittany, furs from Russia and Scandinavia, iron and leather goods from Germany, wines from France and Spain. Philip IV, in his efforts to control Flanders, put a heavy tax on Flemish goods bound for the Champagne Fairs. This action, intended to strike at the Flemish, was in fact a great blow to the fairs. Another great blow to the fairs was the inauguration in 1317 by the Venetians of a fleet which sailed directly to Flanders and England.

The rise of the banker

As many feudal lords were privileged to coin money, the fairs would have been impossible without the services of the money-lender who stood ready to exchange all the coins in circulation into the money each seller could use at home. These money-changers are an early evidence of capitalism. As the medieval money-changer had a strong-box for the safekeeping of his coins, other men would deposit their money with him and borrow money from him giving valuable goods as security. In Italy the bill of exchange was first introduced as a means to avoid the transportation of precious metals, and papal fiscal agents later introduced it throughout Europe. The bill of exchange in theory is very simple. If Marco of Milan owes money to Giovanni in Turin, and if Pietro in Turin owes the same amount to Francesco in Milan, no money need be sent between the two cities at all. Marco will pay his fellow townsman Francesco, and Pietro will pay Giovanni and the accounts will be all clear. The institution of the check also appeared, and gradually the money-lender became a true modern banker. If two merchants had deposited money with the same money-lender, one could pay the other by sending a note to the money-lender to make the payment. The money-lender then simply made the proper entries in his accounts with each merchant, and again no coin had to change hands. The money-lender soon found that all the money on

deposit with him was not needed for his daily requirements of business, and this capital not his own he lent out at interest just as he loaned his own money. The same fertility of commercial invention which produced the bill of exchange and the first banks, soon devised insurance for both land and water shipments, and again the risks of business were spread in such a way that the risk to any single merchant was greatly decreased.

Originally the Jews were the only men in Christian Europe who were permitted to take interest on loans, and so they long held the financial supremacy of Europe. Good Christians were debarred from taking interest on loans for two reasons. Aristotle had asserted that money is of itself "barren," and so to obtain further money from it was thought to be "unnatural." More important, there seemed to be several injunctions in the Bible against the taking of interest, particularly Christ's reported saying in St. Luke vi, 35, "Lend, hoping for nothing again." Thus the Church condemned interest-taking, and the Jews were put in the position of being the only ones who could perform necessary financial operations, and yet they were denounced for so doing. As commerce increased, however, it was comparatively easy to find means of circumventing legally this injunction against interest. The borrower might promise to pay a thousand florins without interest, receive actually nine hundred, and so, when he paid his note, pay both the principal and interest. Or the borrower could agree to repay the money by a certain date or suffer an agreed penalty. He would then fail to pay at the technically appointed time, and in the guise of a penalty pay interest. Italians soon displaced the Jews as the great commercial bankers of Europe, particularly as men began to distinguish between a legitimate interest rate and usury and as the religious fervor of the crusades brought about various laws which crippled the activities of the Jews. Of course, when the Jews were expelled *en masse*, as they were from England and France, and later from Spain, it was then easy for the Italians to displace them. The Italians, also, were favored by the papacy, which employed them very largely in the collection and transmission of its enormous revenues. Though the Genoese Bank of Saint George was probably the most famous single bank of the Middle Ages, and though other cities had famous banks and banking families, the papacy particularly favored the great banking houses of Florence. Many of the great

Florentine banking houses—notably the Bardi and Peruzzi—begar in the thirteenth century. These bankers were direct prototypes o our great international bankers; they loaned money and provided fi nancial advisers to popes and kings alike. Some of them had branche: spread from England and Flanders to the eastern Mediterranean countries.

Interest rates

Medieval interest rates were very high, fifteen per cent or more on commercial and industrial loans. Personal loans, as they still do, commanded an extremely high rate of interest, perhaps eighty or one hundred per cent. The Church again stepped in to perform a needed function. The Franciscans opened counterparts to our modern pawn shops, where poor people could obtain loans of money on personal property at less excessive rates. The three golden balls which are the sign of the modern pawnbroker are borrowed from the business device of the Medici of Florence, who were bankers before they became princes.

The medieval cities were not large, as we consider cities. In the fourteenth century the population of the city of Nuremberg was about 20,000. There were about 3,700 burghers, 4,400 women, 6,200 children, 3,300 servants, 1,600 foreigners, 450 clergy and 150 Jews.

Size of medieval cities

London in 1378 had 46,000 people. Lübeck in 1488 had about 22,000. Within the city of Florence lived a population variously estimated at from 30,000 to 50,000 with perhaps another 30,000 who lived outside the city and were subject to it. Venice in 1422 had 190,000 people. Yet the relatively small size of the cities must not blind us to their tremendous political power. The Hanseatic League bargained with kings, maintained a great fleet and suppressed piracy. In the later Middle Ages, Venice was the strongest naval power in Europe. It had commercial colonies on the Adriatic coast and in the Near East. Its fleet comprised perhaps three or four thousand galleys, and its men-of-war were able to protect the merchant ships from any attack. Venice alone fought the great Turkish Empire from 1466 to 1475, and even after much of her trade had been lost to the Portuguese, Venice fought against the Emperor, Spain, France and the Papal States arrayed in the League of Cambrai and yet was able to resume war against the Turks.

The cities specialized in the handling and production of certain products just as do our own. As with us, geographical location accounted

for some of this differentiation. The Hanseatic League handled hides, *Specialization* grain, furs, wax and tallow from Russia; lumber, iron, copper, salt *of trade* fish and meat from Sweden and Norway; horses and cattle from Denmark; and the herring from the great fisheries in the Baltic. In return the League sold grains, wines and beers, salt, spices, cloth and finished metal products. The rich towns of Flanders were between the Hanseatic towns and the south, and actively interested in the commerce of both. Their own industries, particularly weaving, were highly developed and they were middlemen for the products of both northern and southern commerce. The Italian cities were largely interested in the trade with the Orient and brought into Europe a steady stream of luxury articles for which the West now had developed a taste. Spices— pepper, cloves, nutmegs, ginger, ivory, drugs, pearls, dyes, textiles of silk or satin or muslin, perfumes, glassware and porcelains were parts of their precious cargoes. Venice early developed its own glass industry. Milan manufactured millinery, armor and saddles. Florence had 30,000 engaged in the manufacture of woolen goods.

Whereas our cities, with very few exceptions, have no particular characters of their own, each medieval city had its own color and individuality, and the temper of the citizens of the various cities seemed also to be individual. Venice, with its canals for streets, with its palace fronts of simple surfaces contrasting with colored marbles and deep loggias, gives an impression of rose and cream and of blitheness and freedom. Rome, the seat of the papacy, has the cosmopolitan air of the seat of an empire and takes a prevailingly golden hue from the color of the light-yellow rock, travertine, used so abundantly in its buildings. Siena is largely of brick and terra cotta in rose, grey and yellow *Individuality* and, a little out of the main stream of commerce, gives a quiet, almost *of the cities* dreamy effect. The streets of Florence are narrow and the homes of her merchant and banking princes are frowning fortresses. Few cities so give the impression of historic beauty and wealth. It is difficult for us to understand the intense attachment of the medieval man for his native city, so colorless are most of our own. Perhaps the modern Parisian comes closest to the medieval man in his incapacity to imagine how he could live anywhere else than in Paris. Dante, exiled from Florence, was a homeless man. We find it hard to understand how these small cities could have been so important in the history of civilization. Florence alone bore or nurtured Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio,

Michelangelo, Giotto, Donatello, Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael. Possibly our cities are, among other things, too large.

REFERENCES FOR FURTHER READING

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CHAPTER XXII

MEDIEVAL EDUCATION AND PHILOSOPHY

T HE West inherited the Roman system of education through the Church and monasticism. The lower schools of the Romans gave instruction in reading, grammar, arithmetic and music. The higher schools taught rhetoric, declamation and literature, with some law and philosophy. With the decay of the government, the Church in the fifth century took over the schools. The Christian grammarian Martianus Capella first distinguished the "seven liberal arts"—grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music. Boethius divided these studies into the humanistic *trivium* (three ways to knowledge) of grammar, rhetoric and logic, *Trivium and* and the scientific *quadrivium* (four ways to knowledge) of the remain- *Quadrivium* ing studies. His classification of the studies passed into the monasteries, and there too his translation of Aristotle's *Organon* became a standard text.

By the seventh century the schools were either episcopal or monastic, and trained youths for holy orders entirely. The spirit and content of education had changed very greatly. Though the grammar of Donatus, a pagan of the late Empire, was widely used, Pope Gregory the Great despised the ornament of rhetoric and gloried in the rusticity of his own Latin. Boethius and Cassiodorus would have continued the study of Latin literature and philosophy; Gregory tolerated neither subject and insisted that the schools should emphasize the study of the Bible and of theology. Beyond the rudiments of education the monastic schools henceforth taught only theology, music, scripture, the miracle-filled lives of saints and homiletic literature. Instruction was to edify and to train for the priesthood. In the seventh century the intellectual life of Western Europe was at its lowest ebb. A humanistic culture survived only in the Irish monasteries. From them it was carried to Caledonia (Scotland), Northumberland and thence to the rest of England. St. Columban and the Irish foundations in Frank Gaul,

Germany and Lombardy—notably Saint-Gall and Bobbio—brought at least some of this culture to the Continent.

Charlemagne, though he could hardly write—few laymen could in those days—spoke and read Latin and had a smattering of Greek. He made many efforts to improve the state of learning in his kingdom. He complained bitterly of the illiteracy of the clergy and of the corruption of the manuscripts of the church Fathers and the Bible, and enjoined the bishops and abbots to reform the schools. He called to his court many of the greatest scholars of the day. In the effort to improve the existing texts the school at Tours, under Alcuin of York, produced many copies of manuscripts and sent them to other monasteries. Alcuin so improved the illegible handwriting of the time that the Carolingian minuscule, as it is called, became both legible and beautiful and was the standard form of handwriting until the twelfth century. Though Charlemagne's primary aim was to purify the text of the Bible and the service-books of the Church, his efforts resulted also in the preservation of the classical Latin manuscripts. Most of our oldest classical texts date from the Carolingian renaissance. The Carolingian scheme of education was still intended to train boys for the priesthood. They were taught astronomy so they could calculate the dates of the movable feasts. School children and even the masters counted on their fingers, as it was hard to manipulate the Roman numerals. Some of the many schools of the Frank Empire survived its collapse; but the disintegration of the Empire was as disastrous to the schools as it was to other cultural interests.

Carolingian Renaissance

The Saxon renaissance of the tenth century was like Charlemagne's on a smaller scale. Bruno, archbishop of Cologne and brother of Otto the Great, was the chief figure in the movement. There were both cathedral and monastery schools. The former were for the instruction of secular priests, the latter for the education of novices who were proceeding to the monastic life. They were taught in the "inner" school. But the boys who lived in the vicinity of a monastery received elementary instruction in an "outer" school—enough to enable them to become choir boys.

Saxon Renaissance

About the year 1000 the episcopal schools of Reims and Chartres became the best in Europe. The Cluniac monasteries were too absorbed in their reforms and politics to be interested in education and the Benedictine houses in Germany adhered to the old ways of edu-

cation. Scientific studies formed a considerable part of the curricula of these episcopal schools, which were the forerunners of the medieval universities. A great wave of intellectual interest swept over Europe, *Beginnings* stimulated by many of the current conflicts. The struggles of the *of the* Church with the cities, with the Empire and with heresies, pro- *Universities* duced an intense interest in Roman law and in theology and philosophy. Acquaintance with Moslem science in Spain and in the East produced a great interest in science, particularly in medicine. Apparently the universities began very informally. Men who perhaps thought themselves cramped in the episcopal schools started out as free-lance teachers and aired their opinions on the intellectual issues of the day to any who would listen. About them gathered students who were eager to learn and to argue with them. The lectures and discussions were in Latin, the universal language; a famous teacher soon gathered about him students from all parts of Europe.

At Bologna and Paris the first medieval universities developed. *Bologna* Bologna was founded for the teaching of Roman law about 1158. Paris was not chartered, though it had existed for fifty years before, until 1200. The University of Paris was an outgrowth of the episcopal *Paris* school of the cathedral of Paris; its first known master was William of Champeaux. When Abélard made himself a teacher there, we are told that twenty, even thirty thousand students poured into the city. As these students were largely clerics and not subject to secular authority, and as they were quite as disorderly as any present day students, some sort of organization had to be established both within the university proper and within the student body. The masters in Paris formed a corporation or *universitas,* and the students were originally divided into four "nations": Normans, Picards, French and Germans or English. Each "nation" had a *procurator* at its head and its own regulations. The rector of the university was first designated by the procurators; later the archbishop of Paris was the rector of the university. At Bologna the *universitas* was formed by the students themselves, after the manner of a gild. They divided themselves into two main groups, the *cismontane* and the *ultramontane*—those from Italy and those from beyond the Alps. These groups were subdivided into "nations" of Lombards, *Nations* Tuscans and so on; each nation chose a *conciliarus* and they in turn elected a rector. The masters were not members of the *universitas;* they were instead employed by the organized students and paid fees

according to the numbers of their courses and students. This difference in government is explained by the fact that many students at Paris were twelve and fourteen years old; at Bologna, where the chief interest was the Roman law, the students were usually older and many of them were officials.

The original medieval term for a university was *studium generale.* Such a school admitted students from everywhere—this is the meaning of *generale;* it gave instruction in at least one of the higher subjects of law, medicine or theology; and for instruction in these subjects it had a considerable number of masters. The university curriculum was based on the trivium and the quadrivium. To become a bachelor of arts a candidate studied four or five years and passed an examination on the trivium. To obtain a master's or doctor's degree the student remained three or four more years; studied the mathematics and Aristotelian philosophy of the quadrivium and the advanced texts in his own subject. The theological course was very long; at Paris the minimum was eight years and no student less than thirty-five years of age was made a doctor. Finally the candidate made a public defense of a thesis from six in the morning until six in the evening against a series of examiners. His degree was then conferred upon him in the cathedral and he was permitted to become a teacher himself. Gradually permanent teachers or professors replaced the free-lances and the graduates. No one university maintained faculties in all the higher subjects; each university was noted for one particular study. Bologna specialized in the study of the Roman law; Salerno in medicine. Paris was the great center of the study of theology.

Until the university acquired buildings of its own, it simply used any available church buildings around the cathedral. In the bare class room the master possibly had a desk. The students sat on the floor, with perhaps trusses of straw under them. Benches and forms were later provided as seats. Books were rare; perhaps the master had one from which he read a text which he then expounded and discussed with his students. A retentive memory was a great asset to the student as the instruction was so exclusively oral. Parchment on which to take notes was costly; the student was usually penniless and several students might club together to buy some. After a lecture they would hie themselves to a nearby pot-house, of which there were always plenty, and there they would set down what they remembered of the lecture.

The resulting note-book, created with plenty of hot discussion on the side, was then common property and was passed from hand to hand for study.

‾ The presence of so many students, all immune from arrest by lay authority, created a serious social problem. The students of the several nations were willing enough to fight with each other; and they all made common cause against the citizenry. The riots between town and gown were sometimes truly formidable. Colleges, which were origi- *Colleges* nally dormitories to house a group of students and to permit of their better supervision, were then endowed by rich prelates, nobles and burghers. Later the faculty of the university was divided and masters were attached to each college. In the thirteenth century eight colleges were founded at Paris; in the fourteenth century twenty-seven were founded. Oxford, with twenty-three colleges, and Cambridge, with nineteen, still retain the federated form of a medieval university. On the continent the colleges were abolished after the French Revolution. New universities were sometimes founded by mass migrations of disgruntled students and faculty from some other university. Oxford, if not begun, was helped to grow by a migration of students from Paris when foreign students were expelled after the murder of Becket. And after a fight between town and gown, some Oxford students migrated to Cambridge in 1209 to begin a university there. Emperors concerned themselves to found universities, as when Charles IV established the University of Prague in 1347. Heidelberg, the first university in what is modern Germany, was founded in 1385 by Rupert I, Elector Palatine.

Though undoubtedly we have too long minimized medieval interest in science, nevertheless we must think of the great interest of the Middle Ages as theology and philosophy. It is sometimes hard for us to understand the intensity of the interest the schoolmen took in very abstract subjects. Our modern scientist takes the world as he seems to find it and proceeds about his business. He makes no effort to solve the metaphysical problems which appear as soon as we attempt to analyze what we call our every-day experience. On the contrary, "the Middle Ages were haunted by the desire to rationalize the infinite." Transubstantiation was the great central doctrine of the Church; without it the mass was merely a symbolic act instead of an efficacious sacrifice. Partly to elucidate this dogma of the Church, the

"Substance" and "accidents" schoolmen developed the doctrine of substance [1] and accident. Accidents are the qualities perceived by the senses; the accidents of carbon are its color, hardness, weight and so on. We frequently seem to assume that though diamonds may be hard and white and lamp-black soft and black, despite these contradictory appearances the underlying carbon itself never changes. This unchanging but never perceived entity is what the medieval schoolman would call the "substance" carbon. The doctrine of transubstantiation declares that, though the accidents of the bread and wine visibly remain the same, through the miracle of the mass, their substances are changed to the very body and blood of Christ. As substances are never perceived by the senses and as physical science deals directly only with what we can perceive by our senses, transubstantiation cannot be tested by any physical experiment.

In psychology, for instance, the doctrine of substance can be used in explaining our conceptions of ourselves as being somehow unified beings. We seem to find our inner selves fleeting combinations of emotions, desires, memories and so on. We also seem to think that in some obscure but very important way we are, however different, yet the same people we always were. The medieval schoolman would point out that if there is within a man this unchanging entity, we collect money from the same man who borrowed it of us; otherwise we do not.

Realism and Nominalism Of possibly greater interest is the medieval controversy between realists and nominalists. Humanity, for instance, may be an entity which exists apart from all particular human beings and of which each human being is a kind of reflection or embodiment. Or perhaps it is just a name we use to express our ideas of human beings gathered from our experience with human individuals. Perhaps the word humanity is just an empty sound. The medieval realist asserted that this universal concept of humanity is the truly real thing and that each of us simply shadows it forth. On the other hand the nominalist said that humanity is just a breath, an expression, a name for nothing real. The conceptualist contended that we create our conceptions of universals by our reflections about particular things; and as conceptions these universals are real. The realist thought that this half-way position, however, hardly seemed to touch the question at issue. The theological

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[1] Let us point out that by "substance" the schoolman did not mean what we mean by "matter."

importance of the dispute was very great. If there is no such thing as humanity, it is pretty difficult to justify our punishment for the sin of Adam, a particular man with whom we have only the vaguest connection. If Adam, however, was largely an embodiment of this humanness which we also embody, perhaps as it is reflected in us, humanity is justly punished for its own defect. A thorough-going realism tends to assert that all lesser universals are merged in the one great absolute universal; and thus becomes pantheistic and heretical. Nominalism finds it very difficult to escape the heresy of materialism.

Some of the logical social consequences of each position are quite clear. If there are such things as universals corresponding to our names for them—the Protestant Church, the Catholic Church, France, Germany, England, New York—there is in logic a good deal of binding force to commitments made in the names of those universals by particular human beings. The extreme form of this doctrine, however, leads us to talk of our neighboring Catholics as if they had personally assisted in the Inquisition and of our neighboring Protestants as if they had been Cromwell's right-hand men in Ireland. Nominalism in its extreme form is quite as dangerous. For instance, if the state is only a name, there is only the puny reason of social expediency why one group of politicians, as for instance the British Labor Party, should not repudiate bonds issued by other politicians of the Liberal Party, in the name of the non-existent state. Possibly we may say that the social philosophy of realism tends to be conservative of both good and ill; that of nominalism tends to promote change, and we can sometimes change for the worse. In any case, whether or not the existence of universals interests us, let us not think the question is solved. "If Bernard of Clairvaux, William of Ockham and Abélard could be brought back to life, and made contemporary with us and with each other, they would learn all that we have to give, and then repeat their old controversies."

For many years, to aid them in their philosophical and theological speculations the medieval men had only the church Fathers and the translation of Aristotle's books on logic.

Anselm of Canterbury (1033–1109) was the earliest of the great *Anselm* scholastic philosophers. In a life of great activity he found time to develop many of the problems which the later scholastics struggled with. Though he insisted upon the necessity of unquestioning faith, he never-

theless endeavored to demonstrate the logical necessity of church dog-
mas; and his proof of the existence of God is an interesting exampl₁ of
the daring intellect of the time. God, he said, as an infinite and perfect
Being, necessarily exists in thought; therefore He also exists in fact.

Abélard

Abélard (1079–1142) was another of the vivid personalities in
which the Middle Ages abounded. He wandered to Paris and found
William of Champeaux, a realist, lecturing to crowds of students.
Abélard, though ostensibly a student, routed William and soon his own
fame as a logician drew thousands of students to Paris, eager to hear
him. Thus he was greatly instrumental in the beginning of the Uni-
versity of Paris. In *Sic et Non* (Yes and No) he listed the contradictory
answers of the church fathers to many questions and thus exposed
those students who were fond of clinching arguments by quoting
authority. In his prologue to the book he said that "we decided to col-
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from their apparent repugnancy, which might incite the readers to
search out the truth of the matter. . . . For the first key to wisdom
is called interrogation, diligent and unceasing. . . . By doubting we
are led to inquiry; and from inquiry we perceive the truth.'
Abélard's doctrine of universals was that of conceptualism, and seems
later to have been widely adopted. His love affair with Héloïse is one
of the great and somber romances of history. But as students we think
him most important for insisting upon critical examination of authority
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By the thirteenth century, through the Arabs, the rest of Aristotle
became available to these medieval men, who studied him with some-
thing like fury. So great did his authority become to them that in the
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*St. Thomas
Aquinas*

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teachers, the greatest of the schoolmen, and one of the greatest minds

of history.)"His father, the Count of Aquino, claimed descent from the imperial line of Swabia; his mother, from the Norman princes of Sicily; so that in him the two most energetic strains of Europe met." Despite the protests of his family he became a Dominican monk, studied under Albertus Magnus and when he was twenty-five he was lecturing as a full professor at the University of Paris. Before his death at the age of forty-eight he had written seventeen folio volumes of compact logical theology and metaphysics. Aristotle he bent to the use of Christian theology. "From Tertullian . . . to the school of Paris, Aristotle was a word of offense; at length St. Thomas made him a hewer of wood and drawer of water to the Church. A strong slave he is." So wrote Cardinal Newman. Aquinas insisted upon the ultimate harmony of reason and revelation; since they both spring from God they cannot be contradictory. While he accepted authority and tradition, Aquinas was anxious to find the best authority and he did not hesitate to go far to find it. Instead of omitting Aristotle, he wrote extensive commentaries on him. Most of us will never even open one of his books in translation; we can remember that Huxley, the great nineteenth century scientist and agnostic, wrote of this medieval man, "His marvelous grasp and subtlety of intellect seem to me to be almost without a parallel."

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MEDIEVAL SCIENCE AND LITERATURE

INTELLECTUALLY the Romans were what we Americans mean by a practical people. They were excellent engineers, but they contented themselves with compendiums of Greek science. Thus until Arabic translations of Greek works began to circulate in the twelfth century the original Greek treatises were unknown to Western Europe. Byzantine Europe was no better off. Justinian closed the Academy at Athens in 529, and the exiled scholars fled to the court of the Persian Chosroes I, whose capital was the greatest intellectual center of the time. The Persianized Arabs increased and transmitted to Western thought the fund of scientific knowledge they absorbed after they conquered Persia.

Moslem science

Thus in the early Middle Ages only in the East was there much interest in science. Between 750 and 1150 Islam produced a large number of genuinely eminent scientists—many of whom, however, were Moslem Persians or Jews. Merely to list their names would require a great deal of space and we can indicate only a few. Geber of Kufa was an alchemist and chemist of the eighth century. Al-Kharizmi, in the first half of the ninth century, is credited with the invention of the zero (Arabic *zefiro*) and founded algebra (Arabic *al-jebr*, binding together); and the corruption of his own name in "algorism" means the science of numeration. Al-Razi of Baghdad (died about 923) was "the greatest clinician of Islam and the Middle Ages." The medical treatises of Avicenna (980–1037) "remained the supreme authority not simply in Islam, but also in Christendom, for six hundred years." Ibn Al-Haitham (965–1039) was a great physicist, particularly in optics; and his lesser contemporary Ali Ibn-Isa was a good oculist. The brilliant series of great Moslem scientists practically ended in the twelfth century with the mathematician and poet, Omar Khayyàm. The Arabs added algebra and plane and spherical trigonometry to Euclidian geometry. They invented the sinus and calculated tangents, cotangents and secants. They maintained astronomical observatories at

Baghdad, Raqqa, Damascus, Cairo, Samarkand, Fez, and Córdoba. They used the astrolabe and the sextant and calculated the latitude and longitude of every great Moslem city. They corrected Ptolemy's estimated length of the Mediterranean from 62° to 42°. Apparently the Moslems invented the figures which we call Arabic and which the Arabs themselves attributed to the Hindus.

Arab science was first brought to Europe in the tenth century, probably by John of Gorze, who was sent by Otto the Great on a mission to the Khalif Abd-er-Rahman III of Córdoba in 956. The career of Gerbert of Aurillac (940–1003) is another indication of the hospitality *Gerbert* of the Church to talent. Born in serfdom, he was educated in a monastery school and became a monk. He represents the sum-total of western scientific knowledge before the diffusion of Arabic science. He went to Reims to study, attracted the attention of Otto II in Rome and became one of the tutors of Otto III. He was successively abbot of Bobbio, Archbishop of Reims, and finally, as Sylvester II, pope. With this active career he found time to interest himself in investigations in the nature of steam; and he invented an organ in which steam was forced through graduated pipes. Gerbert—or Sylvester II—was thought the most learned man of his century; and was popularly regarded as something of a sorcerer. When he became pope the popular myth was that he had sold his soul to the devil in return for the honor.

In course of time the increased commercial relations, the Crusades, the Arabic conquest of Sicily and long occupation of Spain, the fame of the Moslem universities of Córdoba, Seville, Toledo and Granada, gave the Christians abundant contacts with Islam. Translations into *Translations* Latin of Arabic treatises were first made by Constantinus Africanus. He *of Arabic* was born in Carthage and was long a Moslem subject; he traveled in *treatises* the East and about 1056 became a monk at Monte Cassino, where he died in 1087. After the Christian recovery of Toledo in 1085 many translators set to work, liberally encouraged by Archbishop Raymond of Toledo (1125–51); and much Arabic science and philosophy was soon available in translation. Gerard of Cremona (died 1187), the most industrious translator of all, rendered seventy-one Arabic works into Latin.

Stimulated by the knowledge made accessible by these translations of both Arabic treatises and Arabic versions of Greek treatises, acute minds in Western Europe no longer were satisfied with Pliny's *Natural*

History and Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies,* books in which Pliny had attempted to set down all he knew, and which Isidore paraphrased. Western Europe found itself ready to develop an interest in science. Leonard of Pisa, in the thirteenth century, seems to have been the first to use Arabic figures, and to employ the term "cipher." But as early as the sixth century Boethius had displaced the cumbrous Roman notation with single signs, which he called *apices,* for the nine digits. Most of these figures strikingly resemble our present figures, especially the figures 1, 7, 8, and 9. The two is our 2 reversed; the six easily reminds us of our 6. Perhaps because Europe was not ready for such an improvement in mathematical symbols, the system apparently invented by Boethius was never employed; only centuries later was Europe culturally ready to interest itself in science.

The "apices" of Boethius

But once interested in science, the men of medieval Christendom took it up eagerly and began that long succession of scientific discoveries which has never since stopped and which is one of the chief glories of our western civilization. Encyclopedists in the thirteenth century thought the new learning ought to be correlated. Alexander Neckham wrote *On the Nature of Things,* and the compass is first mentioned in one of his other works. Bartholomew Anglicus wrote *The Properties of Things;* and of the six thousand folio pages ascribed to Vincent of Beauvais, about half deal with science as we use the word. Of the great scientists themselves, we can mention only a few. Adelard of Bath (twelfth century) translated *Euclid* and other mathematical and medical treatises; worked out a reasonable theory for the phenomena of tides and was acute enough to contend that matter is indestructible. Robert Grosseteste (died 1253) seems to have been a prodigiously learned man and besides theology and languages to have been interested in medicine and mathematics. Albertus Magnus (died 1280) was a good botanist; appraised the various systems for classifying minerals; and was so learned in chemistry and mechanics that he acquired a popular reputation as a sorcerer. Roger Bacon (1214?–94) was an ardent experimentalist and in very modern fashion insisted that observation aided by mathematics was the only method of attaining scientific knowledge. He studied Arabian optics, made many lenses for himself and was prolific in his own optical theories. He seems to have discovered gun-powder independently. Duns Scotus (1265?–1308) calculated the precession of the equinoxes and employed in his

Medieval encyclopedists

Some medieval scientists

calculations both Greek and Arab mathematics. William of Ockham (?–1349?) enunciated the principle that "entities must not be unnecessarily multiplied"; and this principle, familiarly known as "Ockham's razor" because it lops off the heads of so many hypotheses, has done valiant service ever since in all scientific theorizing.

The scientists of the Middle Ages transmitted our modern system of notation and algebra. None of them believed that the earth is flat. They made good use of lenses: Bacon describes it as "a useful instrument for the old who have impaired eyesight"; and about 1300 some one wrote, "When the reader who looks at the writing of any book, *Medieval* however difficult it may seem to read to the naked eye, uses a lens, the *scientific* letters appear greater, so that even the old can read with ease." They *advances* developed the technique of distillation, produced pure alcohol, and many acids and alkalies, and explosive agents. They invented the process of manufacturing linen paper. They knew almost every remedy in the pharmacopæia of the days before modern chemistry. Most of their genuine science was, of course, mingled with a great deal of alchemy and astrology. Even Roger Bacon, probably the greatest medieval scientist, believed in the "philosopher's stone" and in astrology. Nevertheless we are recognizing that they were quite as capable as any scientists of our days. Their greatest handicap was their lack of technique. Instruments of precision, themselves the result of great accumulations of scientific knowledge, were lacking; and as with possibly the exception of mathematics, all the sciences lean on each other and must progress together, the medieval scientist had to work patiently with the intellectual and physical tools at his command.

In the early Middle Ages the Latin language was invaded from below by the speech of the common people—*sermo vulgaris*. From the resulting folk Latin, called variously *lingua rustica, lingua vulgaris, lingua plebeia,* came all the Romance languages of Europe. The forms *Origin of* and meanings of old words were changed and new words were intro- *romance* duced. A short list will help us to see the various changes made as *languages* Latin, through medieval Latin, became modern French.

Classical Latin	Medieval Latin	Modern French
equus, *horse*	caballus	cheval
pugna, *battle*	battalia	bataille
vetere, *to turn*	tornare	tourner

Classical Latin	Medieval Latin	Modern French
urbs, *town*	villa	ville
os, *mouth*	bucca	bouche
jus, *law*	directus	droit
ignis, *fire*	focus	feu
ludus, *game*	jocus	jeu

St. Augustine   The early influence of Christianity everywhere is evidenced by the fact that St. Augustine was the most important literary figure of the fourth century. Augustine (354–430) was born in North Africa. After an irregular youth he became a Manichæan. Partially through the efforts of his mother, who was a most devout Christian, he became converted to Catholicism; and ended his life as Bishop of Hippo. His most important work, the *City of God*, is nothing less than a Christian philosophy of history. In ten of the twenty-two books of the *City of God*, Augustine analyzes very critically the claims of the pagan religions, exposing the immorality of both the gods themselves and the rites of their worshipers. Opposed to this temporal world is the world of truth, Christianity. But the city of God, which exists in eternity, also exists in time in the hearts of true Christians. And in the ultimate triumph of the Church, the city of God must triumph.

Boethius   There was no literary production in Italy in the troubled fifth century. The great figure of the sixth century, Boethius (480–524), was born of a distinguished Roman family, studied philosophy and mathematics, and became a court official under Theodoric; his personal rectitude and his hostility to corruption in others provoked enemies, who accused him of treason. He was removed from office, imprisoned, and finally cruelly executed. He made a translation into Latin of Aristotle's *Organon;* and for centuries this was all that the West knew of Aristotle. During his imprisonment he wrote *Of the Consolation of Philosophy*. It is a dialogue, in both prose and verse, between himself and philosophy. Philosophy shows him the uncertainty of all earthly things; only virtue is secure and a sure reward. Despite the fact that Boethius seemed more like a Stoic than a Christian, for centuries his was one of the best loved books of the West.

Cassiodorus, Theodoric's minister, wrote a *History of the Goths* which is lost; but from it Jordanes cribbed his book of the same title. Jordanes's Latin is uncouth. Sulpicius Severus wrote a *Life of St.*

Martin of Tours; the book was written in fair Latin and was immensely influential in popularizing monasticism throughout the West. In the sixth century also, Gregory of Tours wrote a *History of the Kings of the Franks* in the *lingua rustica.* For the first time he introduced German myths and legends.

The seventh century was most unproductive of literature; it was a time of great turbulence and the Church was very hostile to the classics. However, a century later, the biography of Charlemagne by his secretary, Einhard, is most vivid; and at Charlemagne's suggestion Paul, a monk at Monte Cassino, wrote a valuable *History of the Lombards.* Fifty years later the *Gesta Karoli,* by Notger of Saint-Gall, showed legend already surrounding the figure of Charlemagne. At this time, too, first appeared the historical annals. In the monasteries of Northumberland, in England, the monks entered important events upon the calendar. Charlemagne heard of the practice and enjoined the monasteries of his empire also to keep regular annals, and those of the large abbeys give us much valuable historical material. Charlemagne had German songs collected; but the Church frowned upon them as heathen and Louis the Pious burned the collection. *{Medieval Latin literature and history}*

The dramas in good Latin, of Hroswitha, a nun of Gandersheim, are a curious product of the tenth century. The eleventh century produced an abundance of historical writing, but not much else. Medieval Latin poetry flourished in both hymns and lyrics. We have mentioned the hymns in connection with medieval music.[1] The lyrics of medieval Latin are usually called Goliardic poetry; they were songs of wandering students, hugely satirical of the figures of the age, particularly of the clergy, and jovially praise the joys of nature, wine and women. Most of us know at least the *Gaudeamus Igitur* of the Goliardic songs.

At the end of the eleventh century in France came a great flowering of vernacular literature in the *Chansons de Geste.* These poems relate at great length the heroic deeds of brave knights, and are divided into French, Breton and classical cycles according to the source of their inspirations. Charlemagne and his knights are the central figures of the *Cycle de France;* and the most famous song in the cycle is the *Chanson de Roland.* The atmosphere of this cycle is truly Christian. King Arthur of Brittany and his knights are the central figures of the Breton cycle; and though they are ostensibly Christian, they are *{Chansons de Geste and other epic poetry}*

[1] Page 333.

romantically moved by the love of fair ladies. The classical cycle, with its heroes from Rome and Troy and Thebes, is less important than the others. These cycles, with their aristocratic heroes, were the literature of society; and were enormously important in building up the knightly codes of conduct. More popular in nature were the pious tales told for edification, and the fabliaux of the twelfth and thirteenth

Short stories   centuries. The fabliaux were practically short stories, frequently very coarse, comic and cynical. In one of them the town prostitute tells a noble, a burgher, a priest and divers villains that each is the father of her child; and each contributes to its support.

     The *Romance of the Rose* and the *Romance of Reynard the Fox*

Allegorical   are two other great vernacular poetic cycles of the century. They are
poetry   not part of the various *chansons de geste,* but types of romantic poetry and animal stories (bestiaries). Reynard the Fox is sharp-witted, cunning and without principle. He needed to be, to survive; for this literature, which is a criticism of society through its animal characters, seems to say that society is ruled by evil and brute strength, only to be overcome by an unscrupulous cunning. In the *Romance of the Rose,* human virtues are the characters, and Slander, Jealousy and Danger are fought by their opposing virtues. The first part of the romance, by William of Lorris, is a code of love; the second part, by Jean de Meun, is largely an attack upon women and the current conceptions of love.

     The vernacular lyric originated in Provence. Chrétien de Troyes' translation of Ovid's *Art of Love* became the inseparable companion

Provençal   of troubadours and was even allegorized for the benefit of nuns. From
lyrics   the brilliant courts of Provence came gay, sometimes shocking, lyrics on all subjects, politics and manners as well as love. This poetry, like the *chansons de geste,* spread over all Europe; and courts of love, in imitation of the courts of Provence, were everywhere.

     In Umbria, in the thirteenth century, St. Francis of Assisi sang lyrics of the love of God and of the Virgin, of birds and flowers, of the sun and of death. In the vernacular of Castile appeared the *Poema del Cid.* In the same century appeared the Icelandic sagas and *Eddas,* the German *Niebelungenlied* and the *minnesingers*. The *minnesingers* were poets of love. The *Eddas,* which were collected and set down by some unknown Icelander in the thirteenth century, are descriptions

Saga   in prose and verse of the adventures of the robust gods and mythical
literature   figures of the Norsemen, and the *Niebelungenlied* deals with gods

and early heroes, historical probably, but much embellished by tradition. The sagas are not mythology, like the *Eddas*, but legends—again half history, half imagination. The heroes of these tales, whether Biblical or classical or German, are always medieval. "Troy is a feudal fortress. Homer was a marvelous clerk." "The Christ of the *Heliand* is a hero of the old Germanic type, an ideal of courage and loyalty, and His disciples are noble vassals from whom He demands unflinching loyalty . . . The marriage at Cana and Herod's birthday feast become drinking bouts in the hall of a German prince."

Of Anglo-Saxon literature we need say little. *Beowulf*, despite some Christian touches, seems to be a pagan epic. The translations of Orosius and Boethius made by Alfred, and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* have some general importance historically and linguistically, but only after the Normans had changed the language and civilization of the country was an intrinsically important body of literature produced. The greatest figure of medieval English literature was, of course, Chaucer *Chaucer* (1340–1400. Note that the period of Chaucer was later than the true medieval literary period in France and Italy.) Chaucer followed custom in studying the French *trouvères* and allegories like the *Romance of the Rose* and the work of the Italians of the early Renaissance. But he became, in his *Canterbury Tales*, a true English poet of great technical skill and creative power. Surely we all know and love his "parfit, gentil knight,"—the embodiment of chivalry; his gross, hearty Wife of Bath—red of face and bold of speech of her five husbands and her other youthful company; and his clerk of Oxenford, who was so glad to learn and so glad to teach.

The drama of the Middle Ages came from the liturgy of the *Medieval* Church. In the twelfth century liturgical dramas, written in Latin *drama* sentences culled from the Bible and with only clerks as actors, were performed within the church. In time, speeches in the vernacular and rôles for laymen were introduced and the stage was removed from the church. Then plays of the miraculous lives of saints were produced, and finally plays with completely secular themes. The character of the plays also changed and the Church, which had fostered the drama, was ultimately forced to oppose at least some of its more irreverent manifestations. But the Middle Ages were very hearty; and in the annual mystery plays given by the members of the gilds there sometimes is a kind of rough, slap-stick treatment, even of biblical stories.

Dante

The best literature of the Middle Ages came out of France, where a technically competent literature of every form was developed when most other countries were still struggling to develop flexibility in their languages. But Italy produced the sonnet form in the thirteenth century, and the greatest single figure in medieval literature. Dante Alighieri (1265–1321) was born in Florence, engaged in several military campaigns and was intimately acquainted with many of the artists and poets of Florence. He entered political life in the city and, after a factional upheaval, was exiled in 1302. Most of his remaining years he spent in Ravenna. His *Vita Nuova* tells of his early love for Beatrice. His love, however, is so idealized and broadened that we are not quite sure that the experiences he makes so symbolical were ever actual. In the *Convito* Dante elaborates in still more intellectual fashion this concept of love, and also defends the use of the Italian language for any purpose; in the *Vita Nuova* he thought Italian suited only for love poetry. In *De Monarchia* Dante, who knew only too well the meaning of political instability and tyranny, describes the universal government of a single emperor; and though he was a most devout Catholic he thus postulated the State as a divine institution, established to maintain temporal justice, side by side with the harmonious spiritual rule of the Church. *De Monarchia* was accordingly condemned.

The *Divine Comedy* is Dante's greatest work, and one of the greatest poems of our civilization. It is written in *terza rima*. The stanza of the *terza rima* has three lines of eleven syllables; the first and third lines of each stanza rhyme with the middle line of the preceding stanza. Though occasionally Dante uses a forced rhyme word, he handles the complicated scheme with the ease of the finest art. The *Divine Comedy* is really a compendium of medieval knowledge, and was studied as such. Dante knew in detail the theology of Aquinas and the philosophy of Aristotle and everything the medieval world knew about astronomy and even astrology. The great complexity of the poem is indicated by his explanation that everything in it bears four meanings: the literal, the allegorical, the moral and the anagogical. With Vergil, symbol of human reason, as a guide Dante descends to Hell. There in ever lower circles he finds the souls of the incontinent, the violent, the fraudulent. They are being tortured in ways which are symbolical of the consequences of their sins. Dante did not hesitate to indicate the bitter punishment of many great figures of

his day. He reproved preachers for their presumptuousness, denounced popes for their avarice and unhesitatingly placed them in Hell with other less notable sinners. In the center of the earth is Lucifer, who gnaws forever in his three mouths Brutus and Cassius, political traitors, and Judas, a spiritual traitor.

Dante then ascends through Purgatory. Here he sees the souls of those who are purifying themselves for Paradise by performing the reverse of their sins. Whereas there is no hope in Hell, in Purgatory, despite the various penalties inflicted on those there, the soul may seem to be hopeful. Vergil can conduct Dante only through Purgatory; at its summit he is met by Beatrice, symbol of divine revelation. Beatrice guides him through the several stages of Paradise. There Dante questions Aquinas, Bonaventura, Benedict and Bernard among the saints, as well as Adam and the apostles Peter, James and John. He asks many questions of such mysteries as predestination and the freedom of the will, and is told that the human mind is hardly capable of understanding them and that it should supplement its fallible reason by faith. Finally Dante is privileged to look upon the Trinity itself, as perfect happiness consists in the vision of God.

Dante's cosmography was typically medieval. Hell was a cone-shaped hole running to the center of the earth; Purgatory was a cone-shaped hole running to the other side of the earth. Paradise was the nine concentric heavens which revolved about the earth in good Ptolemaic fashion. Dante wrote of the *Divine Comedy* that, "taken literally, the subject is the state of the soul after death, simply considered. But allegorically, its subject is man." A great American student of Dante has written: "Its real substance is as independent as its artistic beauty, of science, of creed, and of institutions. Human nature does not change from age to age; the motives of action remain the same. . . . The moral judgments of a great poet have a perpetual contemporaneousness. They deal with the permanent and unalterable elements of the soul of man."

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CHAPTER XXIV

MEDIEVAL ART

Aᴀꜰᴛᴇʀ the break-up of the Roman world the East developed a richly orientalized art, particularly in Syria, Asia Minor, and Constantinople. In architecture, however, it adhered closely to the Roman plan of concentric domed building. The West preferred the Roman basilica plan and from it created the Romanesque style of architecture. All during this period art, and architecture especially, underwent great changes, and from this Romanesque style the Gothic architect of the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries developed his great cathedrals. Throughout the Middle Ages the Church, with its inspiring beliefs, its organization and unifying power was the great life force of artistic achievement. As the Church lost its primacy, the Gothic style declined in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and with the revival of classicism the Middle Ages ended.

Byzantine art

Byzantine art began practically with the founding of Constantinople in the fourth century. It soon reached its culmination under Justinian in the sixth century, became stereotyped and has continued with little change to the present day. The Byzantine architects adopted the Roman concentric plan with its circular dome and the Roman brick and concrete construction. Justinian was anxious to restore imperial grandeur and had his architects build many fine buildings, both secular and ecclesiastical. Among these were the imperial palace, hospitals, libraries and the great Church of St. Sophia. The Romans had simply placed domes on circular walls of masonry, and thus the building had to conform to the base of the dome. For lighting, they had simply cut niches in the heavy walls. The architects for St. Sophia invented pen- *Invention of* dentives, four spherical triangles at the base of the dome, to support *the pendentive* it above a square plan. The pendentive was the great contribution of the Byzantines to all later architecture; with it domes could be erected over floors of any plan and it permitted magnificent lighting effects. This masterpiece of Greek architecture was perfectly organic; the dome controlled the entire building and the Roman arch and vault
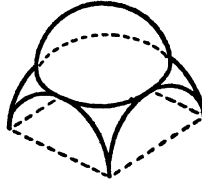
DOME ON PENDENTIVES

were used in perfect unity. "It was the first coherent and adequate expression, in artistic form, of the religion of Christianity." The interior of St. Sophia, with its lofty dome and uninterrupted nave, gives the impression of vast space flooded with light. The church interior was brilliant with mosaics, colored marbles and frescoes lavishly ornamenting its walls. Influenced by the Orient, they were in bright colors—red, blue and gold—and subordinated form to design and color. The subjects of these mosaics and frescoes, here and in the West, were mostly biblical stories and scenes from the lives of the saints, and were intended to edify and instruct as well as adorn. As one medieval writer soundly observed, "What writing supplieth to him who can read, that doth a picture supply to him who is unlearned and can only look." Unfortunately, after the fall of Constantinople, Moslem prejudice against the representation of living figures led the Turks to whitewash the interior and we can no longer see St. Sophia in its initial glory. The mathematical knowledge necessary to the erection of such a building seems to have disappeared after St. Sophia was completed and later Byzantine art was unable to continue such magnificent compositions. In the years after Justinian, Byzantine architecture spread to Italy and southern France, and many fine buildings in this style are still standing in Venice—St. Mark's, for instance, was inspired by the Church of the Apostles in Constantinople—Ravenna, and Périgueux.

The Arabs had no original art of their own and at first simply adopted and modified to their own tastes that of conquered peoples. Then Islam developed an architecture, largely at first in Egypt, which *Mohammedan* soon spread over the entire Mohammedan world. The typical domed *art* mosque, with its airy minarets and the decorations of stylized plant forms and intricate geometric designs called *arabesques*, was made possible by the development of Arab mathematics and by the use of stone instead of brick. Stone permitted richer ornamentation and

lighter construction of the minaret towers. Arab geometry produced a really scientific architecture and a decoration which, however fanciful and irregular it seems, is rigidly scientific. Moslem architecture is also picturesquely characterized by its unusual horseshoe and multiform arches, its delicate columns and the use of alternating bands of light and dark stone. Except in Persia, where the ban against the representation of living figures was not so closely observed, the Lion Fountain of the Alhambra is practically the only real figure sculpture of Islam. Instead of sculpture the Arabs developed the remarkable surface carving we have just mentioned. The Moslems were also extremely skilled in working both the precious and baser metals. In Damascus they made masterpieces of highly ornamented arms and armor for all Islam. Manuscript illuminations of the Arabs and Persians, particularly of copies of the Koran, are exquisite and jewel-like in quality and frequently surpass in beauty and skill of execution those of Christian artists. Moslem rugs, textiles, wood- and ivory-carvings were equally famous. The Arabs used plaster instead of lead to bind the pieces of glass together, and their stained glass windows had to be fairly small, but particularly in Egypt and Constantinople, they rivalled in beauty those even of the Gothic cathedrals.

With the barbarian invasions the art of Western Europe suffered an almost total eclipse. The Merovingians built mostly in wood, and *Carolingian art* what little they built in stone was made up of the moldings, capitals and other fragments from Roman ruins. They produced almost no lasting art. Charlemagne in his cultivation of the arts, imported skilled workmen from Lombardy and even Byzantium. He was so impressed by the church of San Vitale at Ravenna that he had marble columns brought across the Alps from Italy to be used in a similar plan in the cathedral at Aix-la-Chapelle. The English artists he imported to his court brought to the Franks a pictorial or book art; and the Irish artists brought their original manuscript decoration and illumination. Most of the Carolingian buildings, however, were of wood, even the palaces of Charlemagne. Though not unknown, glass was rare; brick-making was practically unknown; but lead plates and tiles were used for roofing and bells were made with some skill. Frescoes decorated the greater churches and monasteries. In the tenth century Saxon Germany cultivated the arts much as had Charlemagne. The Cluniac influence of the eleventh century was very great: Cluny had

a passion for art and after the expansion of Cluny's influence into Italy, Italian marbles, pictures, cut gems, illuminated manuscripts, skilled craftsmen and artists all poured into France.

Medieval craftsmen

In the eleventh century a wave of enthusiasm for building new and better churches swept over the West. The artists, craftsmen and architects of the Middle Ages until the thirteenth century and even later, were mostly clerics or laymen closely connected with the Church. The architect was frequently the engineer and builder of the edifice as well. The rougher labor was done by serfs; but if the skilled craftsmen—stonecutters, masons, carpenters, glass- and metal-workers— were once serfs they early gained their emancipation. By the time Romanesque architecture arose the building crafts were composed of freemen. The Lombard stonecutters and masons had early gained reputations for their skill and they were then imported in large numbers by the building abbots and bishops of France and Germany.

Romanesque architecture

The building of castles had a revival at this time, but the great development of the eleventh and twelfth centuries was that of Romanesque ecclesiastical architecture. Romanesque architecture, so called because it used the round roman arch, adhered to the basilica type of church. The basilica was an elongated rectangle, with a ground plan resembling a T, or a T with three posts, ⊤⊤⊤ . As compared with the concentric church, the basilica was given a very refreshing effect when the nave, the long and impressive approach to the altar, was crossed by a transverse aisle (*transept*) making a ground plan the form of a cross. The nave was for the congregation, with its ground plan left open for the impressive vista and for processions. The side or true aisles were the approaches. The transepts provided space for the officiating clergy and their assistants and for part of the communicants. In the feudal age the wings of the transept were reserved for the clergy and the aristocracy. The side aisles, separated from the nave by a heavy arcade, were extended around the apse to form the ambulatory, and the apse was lengthened and raised to form the choir. Above the nave arcade ran a series of windows called the *clear-story*. The clear-story, with the larger circular windows at the ends of the nave and transepts, lighted the church, but as the windows were comparatively small the church interiors at first were quite dark. The walls of the early Romanesque church were of brick or stone and very heavy. The roofs were of wood and disastrously subject to fire. Al-

most every great church in Europe was destroyed by fire at least once and some—Chartres for instance—three times.

The danger of fire led the Romanesque architects to experiment with stone roofing. They first used the cumbersome Roman barrel and groin vault over the side aisles and then over the nave. As they arrived at a better understanding of the function of the vault, they gradually introduced a ribbed system of vaulting. This concentrated the weight of the vaulting and of the roof at certain points along the wall; these points they strengthened by pilaster strips on the interior. The building tended to become a system of thrusts and counter-thrusts. Soon these pilaster strips were enlarged and placed on the exterior of the wall and became true buttresses. Although tentative and crude attempts were made to transmit the thrust of the nave vaulting over the side aisles, the real flying buttress was not developed until the Gothic period.

The interiors of Romanesque churches were richly decorated with frescoes and mosaics which showed a strong Byzantine influence in color and symbolism. The stone and wood carved moldings, capitals and other decorations show the medieval love for bright colors— red, blue, green and gold. The improved vaulting permitted larger windows to be opened in the walls, and these were decorated with leaded glass. Uncolored glass only was used in these windows and the dark leading gave the effect of a black and white design. The richly painted interior, now well lighted, gave a brilliant polychrome effect. The exterior of the Romanesque church, often picturesque with its group of towers, was very simply decorated. The round arch predominated and the little external sculpture was usually in the heavily carved recessed doorways of the façade. The Romanesque architecture was organic and the façade definitely reflected the interior divisions of the church.

Whereas Byzantine art remained static for centuries the art of the West was too vital to become fixed and soon another great architectural style was evolved, the Gothic. The Romanesque style was born in Italy, which always remained partial to it. Plenty of the brilliant Italian sunshine could pass through the Romanesque windows. But in Normandy and the Île de France, where the weather was often cloudy, these small windows were inadequate. Thus the problem of lighting the church helped to bring about the rise of Gothic in
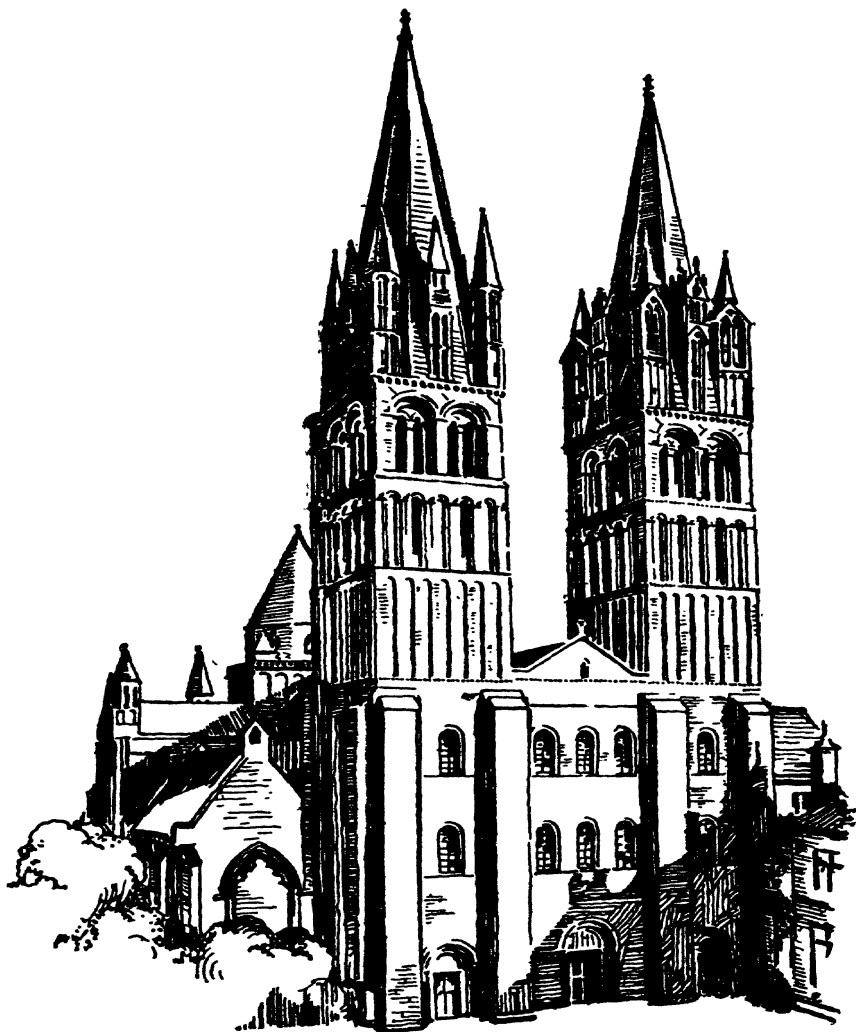
A ROMANESQUE CHURCH

THE ABBEY AUX HOMMES AT CAEN IN NORMANDY,
BUILT BY WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR IN 1066. THE
PREDOMINANCE OF THE ROUND ARCH AND BLIND AR-
CADE TYPICAL OF THIS STYLE OF ARCHITECTURE IS
CLEARLY SEEN, AS WELL AS THE GROUPING OF THE
TOWERS AND SPIRES.

France, and from there it spread over the rest of Northern Europe.

Romanesque art, except for Italy, was largely monastic. The great Gothic cathedrals of the thirteenth century were the creations of the towns and the bishops. With the growth of commerce and industry and the corresponding growth of the towns, the bishops and the *Gothic archi-* bourgeoisie grew wealthy and the gilds of the workers also. All classes *tecture a* were united in an ardent religious faith and the cities enthusiastically *the towns* built more churches than we should imagine they needed, partly to rival other cities and partly to express the fervor of this common faith. The cathedral was the product of the town and so was placed on the public square, surrounded by the homes of its builders. "It is the religious, civic, social centre of everything. It is at once church, picture gallery, library, school, even in a sense, theatre."
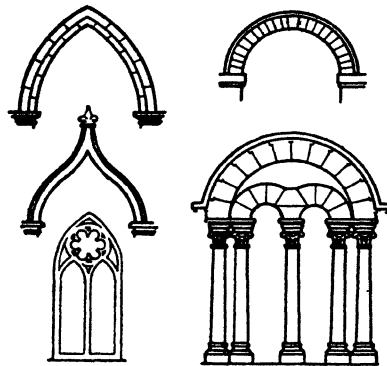
THE POINTED GOTHIC ARCH
AND THE ROMANESQUE ARCH.

The round arch is inelastic because its height cannot be more than half its width. The Gothic architect now introduced the pointed arch and made possible the vaulting of any space at any height. With all his bold experiments the Romanesque architect did not wholly solve his roofing problem. With his better knowledge of thrusts and counter-thrusts and with the pointed arch, the Gothic architect now created *Pointed arch* a skeleton frame of masonry ribs, piers and buttresses that would stand *and flying* alone. It was held together by the neutralizing force of one element *buttress* against another and by the cunning transmission of thrusts to the ground. This skeleton frame, filled in with light stone panels and
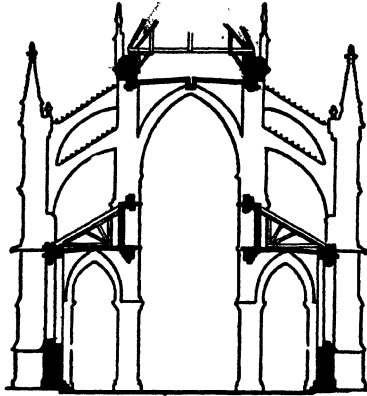
CROSS-SECTION OF A GOTHIC
CATHEDRAL, SHOWING THE
ARRANGEMENT OF THE NAVE
AND SIDE AISLES, THE FLY-
ING BUTTRESSES AND BUT-
TRESS PIERS SUPPORTING
THE NAVE VAULTING.

stained glass, is the Gothic cathedral. The pressure of the nave vault-
ing and the outer roof is collected and transmitted by arches called
flying buttresses which press against the walls of the nave at the points
of thrust, leap over the aisle roofs and pass on the thrust to massive
stone buttress piers topped by pinnacles.

*Gothic
exterior*

The exterior of the cathedral is perfectly organic. The doors of the
façade indicate the interior divisions of the church. The buttresses
frankly meet the thrust of the roof. The buttresses succeed each other
rhythmically and give a harmony of vertical and horizontal lines.
The towers, the pinnacles decorated with crockets and finials, even
the gargoyle water spouts, give the building an amazingly light and
spiritual yet vigorous effect. Across the front of the church are statues
in niches and above them the great rose window. The deeply recessed
doorways and façades are filled with sculptured figures—statues of
saints, kings, knights, virtues, and the plants and animals and gro-
tesques the stonecutter loved. The statues are sometimes elongated
to add a decorative touch to the architecture and with the pinnacles
and the figures, they are brilliantly painted or covered with gold leaf.
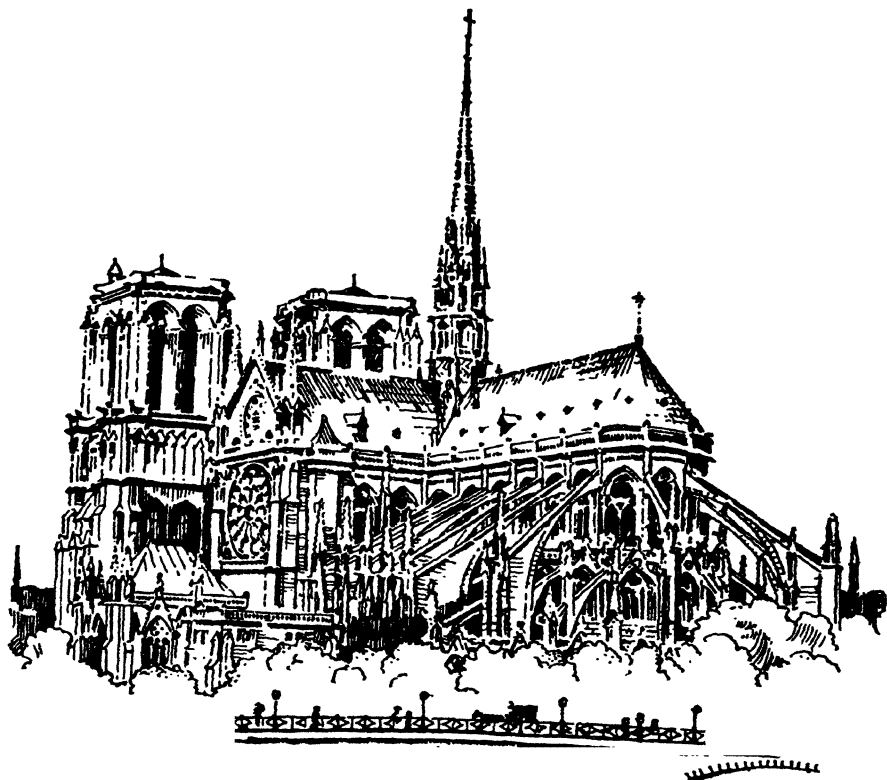
NOTRE DAME DE PARIS.

The interior now gives a peculiar soaring effect and everywhere is color. The slender piers, the walls, the vaults are brilliantly painted. The stained glass of the great pointed windows which have taken the place of the frescoed walls of Romanesque churches, give in jewel-like colors scenes from the lives of the saints, biblical genealogies, even scenes from every-day life. The bakers' gild of Chartres presented to the cathedral a window depicting a medieval bake-shop in operation. *Gothic* Metal workers and wood-carvers added their handiwork to the church. *interior* Wrought iron is made into candelabra, screens, gates and intricate hinges for the great wooden doors. The shrines, altars, tombs and statues glow with color. On the altars are vessels and decorations of precious metals. The wooden choir-stalls, lecturns, pulpits, screens and

sometimes roofs are carved with delicacy and charm. The sculptor and wood-carver alike were good gildsmen, proud of their work and sure and although men might not see what they had done, certainly God and his angels would see and marvel. As the sculptor the wood-carver also took his models from the flowers and plants he saw, perhaps in his own garden, and from medieval lore of legendary creatures or just from the grotesqueries of his own imagination, for the medieval man heartily enjoyed the grotesque. In stone and wood, and brightly painted, imps peeped out from the most unexpected places.
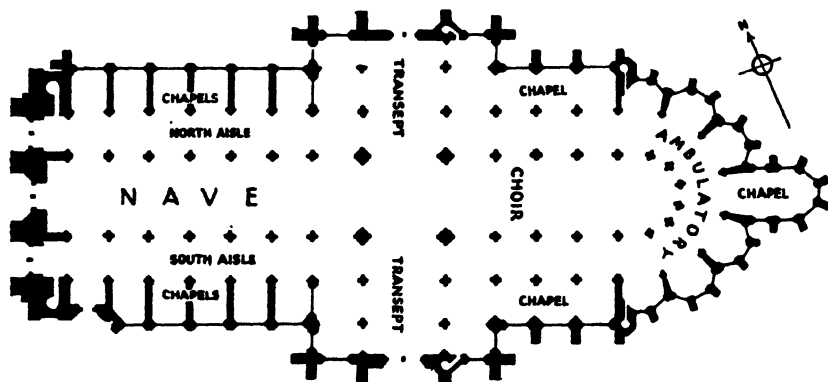
THE GROUND PLAN OF AMIENS SHOWS THE TYPICAL ARRANGE-
MENT OF THE GOTHIC CATHEDRALS.

Medieval painting

Medieval painting was expressed in altar pieces, reliquaries, illuminations and some portraits and miniatures. Thirteenth century painters laid a thin coat of fine plaster on a wooden panel, polished the plaster to ivory smoothness and painted on this with their tempera colors. Tempera colors used such fluid media as egg albumen or honey and the pictures were later varnished with oil. The walls of the Romanesque Italian churches were covered with frescoes. Fresco painting, in which the color is spread on wet plaster and is fixed as the plaster sets, had been practiced since antiquity and the Italians followed tradition quite obediently. Then, when the extraordinary personality of St. Francis of Assisi brought such a revival of religion, the artist who wished to paint a scene from St. Francis' life had to look about him. So he broke from a mechanical following of Byzantine models. Giotto (1276-1336) a Florentine and a friend of Dante, was the greatest Italian

painter before the Renaissance. Though he was a sculptor and an architect and painted many panel pictures, his great fame rests on his frescoes. He placed in a rudimentary landscape the smallest number of figures possible for his story, and expressed the exact emotion needed. In Flanders later in the fourteenth century the brothers Van Eyck made the innovations of using a landscape to build up the harmony of the picture and of aërial perspective, but their revolutionary discovery was a method of using oil as a medium for colors. With them began almost another art.

Church music probably originated in Byzantium. Gregory the Great *Church* established his Schola Cantorum, or singing school, in Rome after *music* he returned from Constantinople. This tradition of Byzantine music lingers in the so-called Gregorian chant. In plain-chant, or speech-song, the melody is subordinate to the sacred words it accompanies. The words of the liturgy, the verses of the psalms and canticles, had lost in translation the Hebrew verse forms; and dominated by prose, the music flows on in unmeasured rhythms, all the syllables of equal duration. The great attention given to the liturgy was accompanied by a great attention to the music of the liturgy; and the varieties of the plain-chant added splendid beauty and dignity to the service. Many of the church hymns which were gradually introduced into the liturgy are retained today. The earliest hymns were those of St. Ambrose. Hilary, bishop of Poitiers (died 637) introduced the Syrian forms of hymnody into the Latin Church; other early hymn writers were the Spaniard Prudentius (died 405); Claudius Mamertus (died 475), to whom the hymn *Pange Lingua Gloriosi Lauream Certaminis* is attributed; Venantius Fortunatus (died 521), whose *Vexilla Regis Prodeunt* is sung during Passion week; and Pope Gregory I, to whom the Advent hymn *Conditor Alme Siderum* is now ascribed. Some later hymns are *Veni, Sancte Spiritus*—Come, Holy Spirit—by Robert II of France (died 1031); and *Salve, Caput Cruentatum* by Bernard of Clairvaux (died 1153). From a long poem by Bernard of Cluny (died about 1156) several English hymns have been taken—including "Jerusalem the Golden," and "Jerusalem the Glorious." One of the greatest hymns ever written was *Dies Irae,* by Thomas of Celano (died about 1250), which has been translated more than two hundred times into English. Adam of St. Victor (died about 1190) was the "most prominent and prolific of the Latin hymnists of the Middle

Ages." Unlike plain-chant, the hymns had a measured, rhythmical melody. Presumably they were folk-melodies, employed to make the service more popular; at least their melodies were simple and appealed to the multitudes who sang them.

Secular music   We know far less of secular, or profane, music than we do of church music. Ausonius tells of peasants in the Moselle valley "singing the country ditties." We know that the Germans, the Celts, the Norse had each a body of folk-song and ballad; but we do not know much more. The music of the troubadours and trouvères developed during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The troubadours and trouvères wrote the verses, in French or Provençal, and composed the music for them; while the jongleur, viol on his back and a sheaf of musical manuscripts in his wallet, traveled from castle to castle to sing the songs of the troubadour. Should a castle door be shut in his face, the jongleur sang in the public square. These songs possessed a rhythm and *allure* so like our own music that it is difficult to believe them eight hundred years old. They passed everywhere; they were sung by pilgrims and at lordly feasts. To increase their popularity statesmen employed minstrels to praise them in song. Francis of Assisi sent abroad groups of friars—*joculatores Domini*—to praise the Lord in song. The medieval students' songs have the traditional student gayety and sometimes irreverence.

As a branch of the quadrivium music was taught in every medieval school, primarily to train choir-boys. The better schools gave instructions in instrumental music also. In the ninth-century *Psalmbook* of Notker, in the library of Saint-Gall, we have a picture of medieval musical instruments. David sits on his throne playing a seven-stringed lyre; in the corners of the page are other figures with viol, zither, dulcimer and harp.

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CHAPTER XXV

THE CONFLICT OF PHILIP IV AND
BONIFACE VIII

THE sentiment of nationalism, perhaps the greatest single force
in our modern world, was unknown to the medieval world.
What we may call the local or provincial spirit of the age
is indicated by the names of the nations of university students;
they were Picards or Normans or Tuscans and so on. Feudalism,
the great force of the Middle Ages, decayed with the failure of the
Crusades, the rise of the cities and burghers and a money economy,
with the appearance of vernacular literatures and of powerful, unified
monarchies. The monarchs repudiated the medieval ideal of a single
supreme authority, claimed their own authority as being directly from
God and sought to make even the Church in their realms national in-
stitutions, subservient to their authority. France was the first country
to become politically self-conscious in this modern fashion.

New Nationalism is a margin note beside the above paragraph.

The reign of Philip III (1270–85) was an unimportant period be-
tween the reign of Louis IX, a feudal monarch, and that of Philip
IV, a national king. Philip IV (1285–1314) early announced the new
doctrine that the "natural frontiers" of France were the Rhine, the
Alps and the Pyrenees—perhaps he or his counselors had read in Cæsar
that these were the boundaries of Gaul. The English king still held
Guienne and Gascony as vassal of France, and Philip inevitably tried
to add these rich wine lands to his kingdom. The English and French
also found their interests conflicting in Flanders. The Flemish cities
were the chief commercial distributors and the most important indus-
trial centers in northern Europe. England, not yet industrialized,
shipped her raw wool from Yorkshire across the Channel to Flanders,
and the export taxes upon the wool were an important source of crown
revenue. The count of Flanders was a French vassal, but the cities were
practically free towns and the burghers were sympathetic with the
English, with whom they had such important business relations. The
French and English were also rivals for the control of the great fish-

Philip IV of France and *Rivalry of France and England in Flanders* are margin notes.

eries of the Dogger Bank in the North Sea. Petty conflicts between
fishermen aggravated the mutual suspicion of France and England.
The commercial and bourgeois nature of these sources of hostility is
very clear.

In 1293 English fishermen fought with some Norman fishermen
and Philip IV summoned Edward I as his vassal to appear in Paris
and make amends for these depredations upon his subjects. Edward,
busy fighting the Scotch, was unable to come and as bail for his later
appearance surrendered to Philip the border castles in Guienne. He
was still unable to appear at the appointed time. Philip declared
Guienne forfeited and Edward renounced his fealty to France and
made an alliance with some of the German and Flemish princes.
Philip made with Scotland the first of the many Franco-Scottish alli-
ances, occupied Guienne with French troops and in 1297 attacked Ed-
ward's ally, the count of Flanders. Boniface VIII persuaded the kings
to declare a truce the next year and Philip then occupied Flanders. The
Flemish, partly at papal instigation and partly because of the severity
of French rule, rebelled and at the "Matins of Bruges" and elsewhere *Matins of*
the French were massacred as frightfully as they had been at the *Bruges*
Sicilian Vespers. At Courtrai in 1302 the Flemish defeated a French
army in the "Battle of the Spurs," so called because the burghers hung
in the cathedral the spurs they stripped from the French knights. A
peace in 1303 restored Gascony and Guienne to England and though
Philip defeated the Flemish the next year he was unable to gain any
definite control over them and soon made peace.

Philip's wars with England helped to bring on a conflict with the
papacy also. Boniface VIII (1294–1303) was born about 1221. He was *Boniface VIII*
thus educated in the greatest days of the papacy and, an old man
when he became pope, he was quite unable to appraise or even under-
stand the new forces confronting the papacy. He was personally the
testiest and most arrogant of all the popes and guilty of the most
shameless nepotism to advance his own family. He got into conflict
with the great Roman family of the Colonna and finally excom-
municated them, confiscated their property, razed their citadel town
of Palestrina and allotted their property among his nephews. He
was ignored in his attempts to adjust the affairs of Sicily and to make
peace in Lombardy and was unable to drum up a new crusade. Philip
IV had already limited the privileges of the French clergy by ban-

ning them from temporal judgeships and from the parlement of Paris. In 1294, after he had refused the services of Boniface as an arbitrator Philip included the clergy in the new taxes he levied to pay for the English war. The clergy protested to Boniface that though they had often given money to the king for holy wars, they were exempt from this tax. Edward I also taxed the English clergy.

In the bull *Clericis laicos* (1296) Boniface again denied the right of kings to tax church property without papal consent and threatened to excommunicate any who persisted in so doing. In reply Edward I declared the clergy to be without the protection of the law and to have no redress at court for injuries and the English clergy then made him a gift. Philip IV forbade all foreigners to enter France, thus debarring papal legates and fiscal agents, and forbade the exportation of gold, silver or jewels from France, thus cutting off all papal revenues from France.

In 1300 Boniface had declared a great Jubilee to celebrate the centenary of Christ's nativity. Thirty thousand pilgrims arrived in Rome every day from all parts of Europe, and two hundred thousand were always in the city. Day and night two men with rakes gathered in the offerings at St. Peter's. Encouraged by the success of the Jubilee, Boniface sent a legate to Philip to protest against the taxation of the clergy; and Philip charged the legate, who was a personal enemy, with treason and imprisoned him. In the bulls *Salvator mundi* and *Ausculta fili* Boniface repudiated Philip's claims, protested against his infringement upon clerical privileges and again asserted papal supremacy. He summoned a special council of French clergy to consider the state of the kingdom of France. Philip forbade any French clergy to go to Rome and summoned the States General, a new thing in France.

First States General (1302)

The nobles of the States General, excited by the forged bull *Deum time* which was read to them, loyally asserted the temporal sovereignty of the crown and the clergy wrote to Boniface to advise him not to call the council.

Unam Sanctam

Some of the French clergy, nevertheless, attended the council and had their property confiscated by Philip for so doing. This council authorized the famous bull *Unam sanctam* (1302). Citing many doctors of the Church, this bull again asserted the spiritual and temporal supremacy of the Church and then made the tremendous assertion "that submission on the part of everyone to the bishop of Rome is

altogether necessary for salvation." Philip in turn charged Boniface
with a startling number of offenses, including the loss of the Holy
Land, and called for a great church council to try him. He then sent
to Italy two of his advisers, Nogaret and Sciarra Colonna, of the
family Boniface had tried to ruin, with orders to seize Boniface and
bring him before the council. Boniface, preparing to excommunicate
Philip, was seized at Anagni. Though in danger of assassination by
Colonna the proud old man refused the terms offered him. He was
rescued by the people of Anagni and conducted to Rome, where he was
degradingly treated by the French and soon died of shame or shock.
Though Dante placed his soul in Hell and though he was frankly *Fall of*
guilty of nepotism, Boniface was at least an excellent legist and if he *Boniface VII*
failed as an administrator perhaps the fault was that the age had *(1303)*
changed. With his death the medieval papacy practically ended.

Benedict XI, a mild man, recalled the sentences against Philip IV,
but excommunicated Nogaret and Colonna and died after eight months
as pope. Clement V rescinded the excommunication of Colonna and re- *Clement V*
stored to the Colonna family the two cardinalates it had long held, al-
lowed Philip to levy a tithe for five years on the property of the
French Church and packed the college of cardinals with French
sympathizers. In 1309 Clement moved the Holy See to Avignon,
which became technically a part of the papal patrimony and for sixty-
nine years all the popes were French. So implacable was Philip's
hatred for Boniface VIII that he put continual pressure on Clement to
have him posthumously condemned. But though to avoid doing this
Clement granted almost all of Philip's other demands, he refused
to have Boniface condemned.

Philip always needed money to pay for his wars and he was more-
over avaricious and unscrupulous. In 1291 he expelled the Lombard
bankers from France and confiscated their property. For a share of
their profits Philip extended his royal protection to the Jews, who
were debarred from citizenship and considered chattels of the local
proprietors. Hard pressed for money he expelled them in 1306 and
confiscated their property. Their departure severely disturbed French
commerce and Philip permitted some of them to return. In 1311 he *Expulsion of*
again expelled them. In 1315 Louis X admitted them on the humiliat- *the Jews and*
ing condition that they wear yellow badges as distinguishing marks. He *Lombards*
was not exceptional in his treatment of the Jews. Edward I expelled *from France*

them from England in 1290 and confiscated their property, and the princes of Germany, the kings of Spain and the Italian cities did very much the same. Only at Avignon, where the popes recognized their financial abilities, could they live without being molested.

Suppression of the Templars

The Templars, one of the military orders sworn to fight infidels, had undoubtedly grown arrogant with wealth and, no longer fighting on crusades, they had become a privileged group of idlers. In 1307 Philip IV caused the grand master, De Molay, and many of the leading Templars to be arrested. Under torture the Templars finally admitted some of the heresies they were charged with and Clement V condemned them. Philip then confiscated their great properties and had many of them, including De Molay, burned at the stake.

Fiscal and tax policy of Philip IV

Philip IV resorted to many other devices to raise money. He altered the coinage. He levied sales taxes which unfortunately helped to bring on a decline in the importance of the great fairs of Champagne. He levied indirect taxes on imports and exports and made the momentous discovery that taxes could be used to regulate trade. Thus, to promote wool-raising in Picardy and Champagne he laid a tariff on Flemish and English wool. After 1297 the clergy made annual contributions to his treasury, though they always formally voted their gifts in convocation. He taxed corporations like gilds, monasteries and universities, and the lands of the barons as well as those of the bourgeoisie and the free-holding peasants, in proportion to their value. He taxed towns for lump sums, permitting the burgesses to raise the money as they pleased. In accordance with our modern doctrine of "ability to pay" the burghers ought to have shared in the taxes, especially as commerce and industry now made land no longer the sole source of wealth, and the barons, too, ought to have shared in the taxes. But people have always resented new taxes more than increases in old ones and Philip's agents had a good deal of difficulty in collecting the new direct taxes. He was often forced to make concessions to the towns and the barons and so, in spite of his desire to extend the royal power, he was far from completely successful in doing away with feudal privileges.

He excluded from the parlement of Paris the last feudal representatives and filled it with legists who, students of Roman law, were sympathetic to royal domination. He established the competence of the *chamber of accounts* as a court to decide tax and other fiscal disputes. Disputes over taxes of a purely feudal nature came before the *court*

of aides. Thus by a definition of the functions of the old *curia regis,* arose the parlement of Paris, the chamber of accounts, the court of aids and the *conseil du roi,* a sort of privy council.

Of great later importance was Philip IV's calling of the States General. Provincial assemblies had been held before, but Philip first called the States General. With representatives from the three orders of society—clergy, nobility and bourgeoisie—they met in 1302 and 1303, during Philip's struggle with Boniface, in 1308 when the Templars were dissolved, and in 1314, when he wanted money for a campaign in Flanders. Philip apparently had a lively sense of the force of public opinion and he seems to have used this device to win public support. Though the States General were not permitted to debate the laws they could present their grievances to the king. At the meeting of 1314 provincial leagues of barons joined the burghers to oppose an irritating tax and forced Philip to drop it and to agree to debase the coinage no longer. *States General*

Louis X, Philip's eldest son, reigned for only two years. A younger son then became king as Philip V (1316–22). Protests were made that the daughter of Louis X was the rightful heir. Philip V summoned the States General, who approved his coronation and declared that Salic law prohibited women from succeeding to the throne. Philip, an intelligent and efficient ruler and with some of his father's tremendous capacity for work, further centralized the kingdom by having the treasury receipts centered in Paris, by abrogating many feudal tax privileges in favor of the crown and by prohibiting garrisons in castles not on the frontier. Significantly, he issued most of his ordinances after consultation with the estates, usually provincial. Probably to avoid discontent he thus associated his subjects with his measures. Charles IV (1322–28), youngest son of Philip IV, had some of his father's dexterity in devising new taxes and further debased the coinage. He made such unfortunate ordinances as that the salaries of the judges in the parlement of Paris should be paid out of the fines they imposed. He demanded that Edward II come to Paris to do homage for Gascony and Guienne; when Edward failed to appear he attempted to conquer Gascony and so continued the tension in the relations between France and England. Charles IV left no sons and the Capetian dynasty came to an end in 1328. The States General pronounced his cousin, Philip of Valois, King of France as Philip VI. *Last Capetians*

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CHAPTER XXVI

THE GREAT SCHISM AND REFORMING COUNCILS

HE French popes of the fourteenth century have long been given a bad name. But in fact they were, if anything, superior men. They have been accused of subserving the interests of the French monarchy. Though Clement V was badly browbeaten by Philip IV, he refused to condemn Boniface VIII, and the *Character of* other French popes promoted the interests of the Church in France *the French* rather than the French monarchy. They were all trained legists and *popes* many of them were personally of unexceptionable character. Benedict XII was an austere ascetic, John XXII was a mystic. Some of them made earnest efforts to remedy the undoubted evils in the Church. It was impossible for them to make as sweeping claims for the Church as had Boniface VIII, but they maintained many papal claims unabated and continued to make the influence of the papacy felt in international affairs. This tradition of papal intervention remained so strong that in 1493 Portugal and Spain asked the pope to divide their territories in the New World. Petrarch and Boccaccio, both Italians and resentful of the removal of the Holy See from Rome, slandered the papal court. Boccaccio asserted that sight of the enormous vices of the papal court ought to convert a Jew, since despite them Christianity nevertheless continued to spread and thus demonstrated its divine origin. Protestant apologists of the sixteenth century basely misrepresented the character of the French popes.

The removal of the Holy See from Rome, of course, had widespread effects. The Romans deeply resented it. Rome had no commerce to sustain it, and sunk into a provincial town of less than twenty thousand people. The noble families left, the churches fell into disrepair, some were even used for stables, and the remaining people could do no better with the magnificence of the city than burn marble statues for lime and use the Colosseum as a quarry. The temporal power of the papacy in Italy was greatly reduced and more than seventy-five cities formed a Ghibelline league. Though largely unfounded, the

suspicion that the popes were subservient to the French monarchy undoubtedly helped to strengthen the growing nationalism of the other states in Europe.

Economic grievance of Europe

The genuine grievance of Europe against the papacy was economic. The popes no longer had any temporal subjects from whom to obtain revenues and the papacy had just been violently uprooted and sought to strengthen its financial position. To raise funds the popes therefore proceeded to centralize all ecclesiastical authority in their courts at Avignon. To handle the enormous amount of business this centralization brought to them, they had to develop a huge bureaucracy and this in turn had to be supported. For appointment to office the popes required bishops and abbots to pay fees, the *annates*, which sometimes equalled the entire revenue of the bishopric or monastery for a year. They forebore appointing men to vacant positions and appropriated the incomes thereof. Fees for cases appealed to the papal curia were always lucrative and the French popes greatly increased the number of cases which were appealed. The popes had always had the power to grant dispensations which suspended the strict enforcement of canon law. Pluralities, the holding of several benefices by one cleric, were forbidden, but the popes found that dispensations which permitted pluralities were very profitable. Other dispensations permitted holders of benefices to remain away from their positions and absenteeism became very common. Men of illegitimate birth could not be consecrated or hold benefices, but for a consideration a dispensation might be granted. Dispensations were granted to permit men of non-canonical age to hold ecclesiastical offices, to permit marriage within the prohibited degrees of relationship, and even to permit several men to hold a single ecclesiastical office. One bishop would do the work and draw the revenues of the office and the others shared in the glory of the title.

Corruption of the court at Avignon

The court at Avignon became a maze of financial bureaux. Though the bureaux were well organized and run in a business-like way, the pickings of the officials must have been enormous. The court life became gay and licentious to a degree, and the feeling grew in Europe that everything in the Church had its price. Ultimately this contempt for the decencies greatly sapped papal prestige and authority and pious folk everywhere were offended. Many of them, fearing for the Church which they loved and distinguished it from its corrupt officials, pro-

tested to the popes and urged vigorous reforms. Heresies flourished and from these grievances won greater strength in public opinion.

In 1377 Gregory XI, amid the cheers of the Roman populace, returned to Rome to reëstablish the Holy See there. But he immediately *Restoration* became frightened over the interminable and bitter factional strife and *of the* would probably have returned to Avignon had he not died. A new *to Rome* pope was to be chosen. The Roman mob ineffectively tried to extort from the electing cardinals a promise that the next pope would be a Roman, or at least an Italian. After a good deal of confusion caused by *Great* the people, who tried to insist upon their way, the cardinals elected *schism* the archbishop of Bari as Urban VI. Urban at once endeavored to *Urban VI* inaugurate most drastic reforms. He threatened the personal lux- *and the* uriousness of the cardinals and their lucrative simoniac practices. He *beginning of* threatened to reduce their power by creating Italian cardinals and *the schism* worst of all, a low-born man himself, he berated the aristocratic cardinals in coarse and insulting terms. Thereupon the cardinals met under the protection of the queen of Naples, issued a statement that they had been intimidated by the Roman mob, that as cardinals they could depose as well as elect popes, denounced Urban, and elected the Bishop of Geneva, who was related to the king of France and other royalty as well, as Clement VII. The Church has never officially pronounced on the validity of either election, but most modern scholars agree that the election of Urban VI was canonical.

Christendom was divided as never before. France, Spain, Scotland, *Division* Naples and Sicily sustained Clement VII. England, most of Germany, *of Europe* Hungary, Poland and the princes of northern Italy sustained Urban VI. But nowhere was opinion unanimous, and dissension appeared everywhere. Each pope tried to appoint his own adherents to every office and resorted to all the old devices and some new ones to raise money. Europe had to support two sets of cardinals, two papal courts, and everywhere were two papal legates, each clamoring to be recognized and denouncing the other. Most disastrous of all was the influence upon the simple believer of the sight of the divided Church. Each pope, with the liveliest side-remarks, excommunicated the other. This meant that whichever pope was validly elected, the people of a great part of Europe were denied the consolation of true sacraments. Europe was genuinely dismayed.

Urban VI pursued a stiff-necked and tempestuous course, appointed

a new college of cardinals, waged war ineffectively against Naples and died. His successor, Boniface IX, denounced Clement VII, obtained vast sums from the pilgrims to the jubilee he proclaimed in 1400 and from a skilful manipulation of papal privileges. Clement VII, too, raised vast sums of money and spent it on wars in Italy and on his court at Avignon. Earnest souls everywhere labored to find a way out of the distressing situation. Every member of the two colleges of cardinals was forced by public opinion to promise individually that if he were next elected pope he would unite the Church even if he had to abdicate to do so. Innocent VII and Gregory XII of the Roman popes and Benedict XIII of the Avignon popes each made this promise, and each found as a reason for not abdicating that the rival pope was so obstinate. The rival colleges of cardinals were quite as guilty of prolonging the schism, as on the death of its pope each college might have refrained from electing another and then, at the death of the rival pope, might have merged with the other college for a united election.

The "conciliar theory"

John Gerson, rector of the University of Paris, proposed a return to the "conciliar theory" that the general council was the supreme authority in the Church, rather than the pope, and urged the calling of such a council. Other university men joined in. To obtain unity in the Church they were willing to reverse the entire body of canon law which maintained papal supremacy. The universities continually pressed for harmony; France was weary of supporting practically alone the papal court at Avignon; cardinals of both colleges made efforts to bring about unity. Finally the cardinals met at Pisa, and in 1409 deposed both popes and elected Alexander V, who died almost at once, and then John XXIII, a vigorous soldier but hardly a type suited to be pope. As the two other popes refused to abdicate, it was confusion worse confounded. John XXIII failed to enforce the deposition of his rivals and finally laid plans with the Emperor Sigismund for a general council. Sigismund over-ruled John XXIII's objections to the city of Constance, which the pope would not be able to control, called a council of all Christian rulers and prelates and sent summonses to the rival popes. John XXIII also issued a call to the council. The council was to have three aims: the union of the Church, the reform of the Church, and the destruction of heresy.

Council of Pisa and John XXIII

Council of Constance

The Council of Constance (1414–18) was the greatest assemblage

of notables Europe had ever seen. All the kings of Europe and thirty-seven universities were represented, and the cities sent more than eight hundred delegates. John XXIII, who made many appointments just before the council met and expected to be able to outvote any combination of opponents, proposed that the council first discuss heresy. The council decided to discuss unity first, then reform and then heresy. To keep the reform party from being outvoted by John XXIII's adherents, Gerson proposed that the council, including even the cardinals, organize itself like a university and vote by nations. This was done and John was immediately outvoted. He agreed to resign if the other popes would resign, and then lost his nerve and his confidence that he could be re-elected, fled the city and called upon his cardinals to follow him. Sigismund's presence of mind kept the council from breaking up in consternation; only a few cardinals left and Gerson preached a sermon on the enheartening doctrine that the council was the supreme power of the Church. Charges were drawn up against John XXIII accusing him of about every conceivable sin and he was *Deposition of* brought back and deposed. He was kept a prisoner until after the coun- *John XXIII* cil ended, when he submitted to the new pope. Gregory XII resigned as he had promised; and though Benedict XIII refused to abdicate and to recognize his deposition, he was soon deserted by all save a handful *Election of* of followers. Cardinal Oddo Colonna of the famous Roman family was *Martin V* elected as Pope Martin V in 1417 and the great schism was ended.

The Popes during the Great Schism

Roman Line	*Avignon Line*
Urban VI (1378–89)	Clement VII (1378–94)
Boniface IX (1389–1404)	Benedict XIII (1394–1417)
Innocent VII (1404–06)	
Gregory XII (1406–15)	

Council of Pisa's Line
Alexander V (1409–10)
John XXIII (1410–15)

The Council of Constance agreed that drastic reforms were needed within the Church. But it was soon discovered that the bishops were simply trying to reduce papal power in their own favor; whereupon the

universities, the states, and the cardinals all began to fear for their own privileges. Resolutions were passed condemning simony and pluralism and the college of cardinals was limited in number. Other reforms the council could not achieve. It declared the supreme power of the Church to be the council and called for councils to meet at regular intervals thereafter.

Wiclif

The Council of Constance, unable to inaugurate a reform of the Church, was not much more successful in its efforts to suppress heresy. In the preceding century John Wiclif had set in motion the Lollard movement in England, but though he went so far as to deny transubstantiation he was suffered to die in peace in 1384. Many of the members of the council were outspoken critics of the Church, but as reformers they no more planned to change the form or beliefs of the Church than a Democratic critic of a Republican administration plans to overthrow our system of government. The heretic, a true rebel, would change the Church itself and heresy is even worse than treason, as it imperils men's immortal souls. So at least thought the men of that time.

John Huss

In Bohemia there was heresy on a scale large enough to command the attention of the council. John Huss (1369–1415), a Bohemian of humble birth, studied at the University of Prague, was ordained priest and was rapidly recognized as a man of ability. He was even rector of the university for one term. Bohemian students at Oxford had carried back Wiclif's ideas and shortly many popular preachers, Huss among them, were urging a reform of the clergy and of such abuses as false relics. Huss never denied transubstantiation, as had Wiclif, but he advocated a kind of reformed Church for Bohemians which fitted well with the growing nationalistic sentiment. In 1411 Wiclif's writings were burned in Prague and Huss was excommunicated, but he continued to preach. John XXIII, to raise money for a war, offered indulgences to all who contributed thereto. Huss now denounced the theory of indulgences and soon was denying the power of the clergy to forgive sins. He was summoned to the Council of Constance and came under a safe-conduct from the Emperor Sigismund, apparently in the hope that he could convert the council itself. Despite the safe-conduct he was imprisoned. He admitted holding the opinions found in his writings, but refused to recant and asked that he be corrected out of the Scriptures. As he persisted in his position, he was condemned

and burned at the stake in 1415. A year later his fellow countryman, Jerome of Prague, was also burned as a heretic.

Huss at once became a national hero and a martyr to the Bohemians. Martin V proclaimed a crusade against them and the Bohemians rose to defend both their religion and their nationality against the hated Emperor Sigismund. The Bohemian general Ziska defeated Sigismund's army, and then the Bohemians took the aggressive themselves and invaded Germany so successfully that hope of subduing them was given up. Both sides grew weary of war and at the Council of Basel, despite the pope's protest, the Bohemian delegates were received. The Hussites were finally granted their chief demand that the laity be served both the bread and the wine of the eucharist and modifications of their other requests that the clergy should live in apostolic poverty, that priests should be free to preach the Word of God and that all open sins should be punished by the magistrates. The reconciled Bohemians defeated their more obstinate and more radical countrymen at the battle of Lipan in 1434 and the *Compactata*, or articles of agreement, became part of the privileges of the Bohemian Church. *Bohemian revolt*

Successful rebellion of the Bohemians

Martin V had agreed to the few reforms urged by the Council of Constance and promised to call another council at Pavia in 1423. But he needed money to carry on the papal bureaucracy and to proceed with an energetic restoration of Rome, and the old abuses were unchecked. Besides, he had no taste for councils, with their assertions of supremacy. At the insistence of the University of Paris he called the Council of Siena, but he made sure that it accomplished nothing. Europe grumbled more than ever under papal exactions and the reformers insisted that something definite be done about the Hussites and about church reform. Eugenius IV called the Council of Basel in 1431. Europe was so distressed by wars that enough delegates could be assembled only with difficulty. But after Eugenius vainly tried to disband it, the council organized itself. It arranged terms with the Hussites and in 1438 Charles VII of France obtained the reforms of the Pragmatic Sanction. This provided that papal annates should be abolished in France and that large benefices should be filled by election instead of by papal appointment, and recognized the supremacy of the council in the Church. The French crown by this arrangement practically obtained the patronage and fiscal management of the Church in France. *Impossibility of reform*

Failure of church reform

The Church in Germany also was made the subject of a special concordat between the emperor and the pope.

But the advocates of conciliar supremacy seemed willing to risk another schism to force their cause. Their obstinacy offended their ablest members, who left the council and veered to the side of the pope, and most unfortunately discredited the cause of reform. In 1438 the remaining members of the council suspended the pope, who thereupon summoned a council at Ferrara, and excommunicated all

The Council of Basel

those who would not recognize it. The Council of Basel then declared the pope deposed and elected an anti-pope; but it soon capitulated and with its anti-pope, submitted to Rome. When it disbanded in 1449 the conciliar theory and reform were both hopeless causes.

Failure to incorporate the Greek Church

At his council Eugenius IV met delegations from the Greek Church, now sorely pressed by the Turks. In return for the recognition of papal supremacy by the patriarch of Constantinople, he promised to declare a crusade against the Moslems and himself to finance military aid for Constantinople. But he sent only one military detachment and

Failure of union of Greek and Latin Churches

failed to declare a crusade. The other Greek bishops repudiated the agreement and in 1453 the Turks captured Constantinople. Although some smaller sects in the East adhered to Rome, the papacy had lost its best chance to unite with it the great Orthodox Church of the East.

During the remainder of the century only one pope was a rigorous Christian and indifferent to the humanism of the Renaissance. Calixtus III (1455–58) futilely endeavored to organize a crusade. All the

Humanist popes of the Renaissance

other popes were humanists rather than Christians. Nicholas V founded the great Vatican Library with five thousand manuscripts gathered from everywhere, planned the reconstruction of the Leonine City, encouraged the best artists and scientists of Europe and welcomed Greek scholars who fled from Constantinople after its fall. Nicholas himself was a man of good character, but the succeeding popes more and more became adherents of the Renaissance they patronized, and exhibited that combination of intense intellectual and artistic interests with great moral depravity which was peculiar to the Renaissance. Their patronage of the arts made Rome externally a magnificent city. The scandalous lives of some of them and their general indifference to the appalling corruption of the clergy and of ecclesiastical administration hastened the end of a united Church even in the West.

Map labels (top axis): 20, 10, 0, 10

Shetland Is
Orkney Is
Stavanger
K. OF NORWAY

50

K. OF SCOTLAND
Edinburgh
N O R T H
IRELAND
Dublin
York
S E A
U. K. OF DENMARK
K. OF ENGLAND
Hamburg
London
Holland
Bremen
Brunswick
Channel Is
Brest
Calais
Cologne
Dresden
Nantes
K. OF ORLEANS
Paris
Frankfort
Seine
Lorraine
Strasb
Loire
Basel
Duchy of
40
Bordeaux
Aquitaine
K. OF FRANCE
Lands of the
Visconti
Oporto
Burgos   *Ebro*
Milan
Duero
KINGD. OF
Avignon
Genoa
Lisbon
Toulouse
Provence
Florence
K. OF PORTUGAL
CASTILE
Toledo
Saragossa
Marseille
ADRIA
Cadiz
Cordova
K. OF ARAGON
Barcelona
Corsica
Rome
K. OF
Balearic Is
Sardinia
Naples   K. OF NA
K. of
Granada
Tangier   *Gibraltar*
M E D I
Palermo
MARINIDS   ZIANIDS
Algiers
Tunis
E. R.
Malta   R.
HAFSIDS
30

EUROPE
IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY
--- *Boundary of the Holy Roman Empire*
    Luxemburg dominions
    Wittelsbach   "
    Hapsburg   "
English Miles
0   100   200   300   400   500

Tripoli
T R I P O

(bottom axis): 0, 10

SWEDEN

Stockholm

BALTIC SEA

Esthonia

ORDER

Riga
Cour-
land

RUSSIAN STATES

Novgorod

PRINCIP. OF

Kostroma

Volga

Nijni Novgorod

MOSCOW

Moscow

Vilna

TEUTONIC

horn   Warsaw

Pinsk o

GR? PR?NC.

KINGD. OF

OF LITHUANIA

Ukraine

Kiev

Dnieper

THE   GOLDEN   HORDE

KHANATE   OF

Sarai

Volga

POLAND

Cracow

Presburg

Podolia

Pruth

Astrakhan

Don

Azov
(to Genoa)

Budapest

Mo
l
d
a
v
i
a

Jassy

HUNGARY

Transyl
vania

Cherson

(to Genoa)

GEORGIA

Tiflis

OF

Hermannstadt

Wallachia

Bukharest

Danube

BLACK   SEA

Sinope

Trebizond

DOM? OF THE JALAYIRS

SERVIA

osnia

Mch

Ragusa

BULGARIA

Sofia

Adrianople

Constantinople

DOM? OF MOHAMMED ARTIM

Erzerum

Presburg

S.
urasso

Thessalonica

EASTERN EMP.

Brusa

Seljuk Turks

Kara Kuyunli

Mosul

Corfu

(to Genoa)

Chios

Smyrna

Turkomans

Euphrates

Bag

Athens

Adalia

Aleppo

Achaia

Modon
(to Venice)

Rhodes

Cyprus

Beirut

Damascus

ARABIA

Crete (to Venice)

N   E   A   N   S   E   A

Jaffa

Jerusalem

SULTANATE

Arabia

Barca

M   A   M   E   L   U   K   E

Alexandria

Cairo

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ENGLAND (1272–1485)

EDWARD I (1272–1307) returned from one crusade hoping to organize another by a united Europe, but he was abundantly occupied at home and his plan remained among the impossibilities of history. The Welsh under Llewellyn refused to acknowledge his suzerainty and though he forced Llewellyn to do homage in 1277, later revolts compelled him to spend several years in reëstablishing his control over the country. By the Statute of Wales in 1284 he annexed Wales to the crown of England and generally introduced English law under English sheriffs. In 1301 Edward declared his oldest son, who had been born at Carnarvon, the Prince of Wales and thereafter English crown princes have worn that title.

Edward's quarrels with Philip IV of France were complicated by the last rising of the Welsh and by trouble with Scotland. In 1290 the direct line of the Scottish kings ended; Edward I as suzerain claimed the right to decide the succession and his commissioners declared John Balliol king. Balliol nevertheless rejected Edward's claim that English courts could hear appeals from Scottish courts, made an alliance with Philip IV and renounced his allegiance. Edward invaded Scotland successfully and captured Balliol, but while Edward was in Flanders in 1297 the Scotch revolted again under William Wallace and defeated an English army at Stirling Bridge. After he had concluded peace with Philip IV, Edward again defeated the Scotch at Falkirk, reduced Scotland and finally captured and executed Wallace. The Scotch then revolted under Robert Bruce and Edward died in 1307 as he was planning a new invasion of Scotland.

Edward I's domestic legislation was important. The Church at this time held about one-third of the land of England and as church land never lacked an heir and also was exempt from many feudal dues, Edward by the statute *De Religiosis* prohibited further gifts of lands to the Church. By the statute *Quia Emptores* it was provided that subtenants of land owed their services directly to the lord of the tenant.

This act tended to bring some order in the confusion of subdivided services and to make many small landholders directly dependent upon the crown. The statute *De Donis Conditionalibus* permitted lands to be entailed, and so enabled powerful families to hold their properties together, and the crown itself to regain lands it had granted under conditions which could no longer be observed. William the Conqueror had welcomed the Jews and they had become influential figures in English commerce. But though they were often forced to listen to long sermons they refused to embrace Christianity, and the popular antagonism against them was great. Edward first compelled them to wear a humiliating dress and then in 1290 expelled them from the *Expulsion of* kingdom. Thereafter Jews could not lawfully enter England until *the Jews* the days of Cromwell. Parliament rewarded Edward I with a special grant for this popular act. We have already seen how Edward and notably Philip IV managed to defeat the claims Boniface VIII made in the bull *clericis laicos*.

Most important of all were Edward's administrative changes. By the end of his reign three common law courts had become distinct from the *curia regis*, which though still the highest court became more and *Courts and* more exclusively the king's council. The Court of the Exchequer tried *Parliament* money cases, particularly those connected with crown revenues; the Court of King's Bench tried criminal cases; and the Court of Common Pleas tried civil suits. The circuits of the itinerant judges were definitely established; justices of assize regularly heard civil suits and justices of jail delivery tried criminal cases. The kings of England had frequently negotiated with the urban and rural middle classes, but always in local groups. This was an awkward and unsatisfactory way of meeting them, however, and from time to time Edward had them meet him as members of the High Court of Parliament. In 1295 after his expensive campaign in Wales and faced by the Franco-Scottish alliance, Edward I assembled the so-called Model Parliament to ask for more money. In this Parliament were all the future elements of that body: nobles, bishops and abbots, two knights from each shire and citizens from about a hundred boroughs and cities and others from the lower clergy. In the Model Parliament the knights sat with the nobles and the townsmen, but the clergy met in convocation by themselves to raise money for the king. Later the lower clergy dropped their attendance upon the Parliament, the knights added their great social prestige to

the burgesses and townsmen by joining with them in what became the Commons, and the nobles and bishops convened together as the House of Lords. While he was in Flanders in 1297 the barons obtained from Edward I a Confirmation of the Charters which significantly provided that the king could obtain no more moneys "except by the consent of the realm." Though Edward obtained from the pope an absolution of his confirmation of the charter and Parliament long remained a high court, attempts were thus begun to control the royal prerogative and therefore the king himself.

Edward II

Edward II (1307–27) was a thoroughly weak man, fond of low company and the tool of unworthy favorites. Parliament at once protested against his misgovernment and the barons captured and beheaded his favorite, Piers Gaveston. Robert Bruce meanwhile drove the English almost out of Scotland. Edward managed to make peace with his barons and at the head of a great army marched into Scotland where, in June 1314, he was terribly defeated at Bannockburn

Battle of Bannockburn

and Scotland recovered its freedom. He fled back to England, but continued his worthless habits. The country fell into disorder and though Edward managed to defeat a group of barons who attempted to exile his new favorites, his incompetence was so great that by a further extension of its authority Parliament at length deposed him, and he was secretly put to death.

His son, Edward III (1327–77), was a knightly and attractive figure but an indifferent ruler. The Hundred Years' War, which began in his reign, we shall describe in our next chapter. The English victories at Crécy and Poitiers were nullified by the abilities of Du Guesclin and Charles and at the end of his reign Edward III held only the ports of

Internal changes in England in fourteenth century

Calais, Brest, Bayonne and Bordeaux. The war, however, had important domestic results. The Cistercians had made many waste places in England fertile and had skilfully begun the wool growing which now was so important in English foreign trade. The Black Death was as disastrous in England as elsewhere and as Parliament was unable to check the demands of the laborers for increased wages, many great landholders turned to the raising of sheep. The long wars disturbed trade relations with Flanders, where most of the wool was woven into cloth, and many Flemish weavers came to England to begin the manufacture of woolen cloth there. The war was a tremendous drain upon the wealth of the country and Parliament was enabled to enforce at

least the nominal acceptance of its demands that grievances should be redressed before supplies were granted. The Good Parliament of 1376 not only demanded an audit of the royal accounts but accused two corrupt officials by name, convicted them and so began the practice of impeaching public officials.

The residence of the popes at Avignon, where they were thought to be subservient to the French monarchy, intensified anti-papal senti- *England and* ment in England. In 1351 by the Statute of Provisors Parliament *the papacy* denied the validity of papal appointments in England, and two years later, by the Statute of Præmunire, which forbade the carrying of lawsuits to foreign courts, it shut off a fruitful source of papal revenues from England. The tribute John had promised the pope fell in arrears and when the pope insisted upon its payment, Parliament with the approval of Edward III, declared that as the Lords and Commons had never consented to John's promised payments, his promise was not binding upon the country.

John Wiclif (c. 1324–84), an Oxford scholar and once master of *John Wiclif* Balliol, attracted a good deal of attention by his attacks upon the cor-ruption of the Church and by his theory that the State could confiscate the property of corrupt clergymen. For a time he was protected by John of Gaunt, third son of Edward III, as his theory was congenial to the growing nationalism of many Englishmen. Then, stirred by the spectacle of the Great Schism in 1378 and by the bulls which were issued against him, Wiclif denied both transubstantiation and the authority of the pope and asserted the Bible alone to be a sufficient guide for sal-vation. These doctrines were too extreme for the time and though Wi-clif was not actively persecuted he lost the support of John of Gaunt and went into retirement. He assisted in the first translation of the Bible into English and his followers, the Lollards, preached his doc-trines throughout England.

As Richard II (1377–99), son of the Black Prince, was only ten *Richard II* years of age when he became king, for a time a council of twelve ruled England. During the last years of Edward III the armed retainers of the great lords seriously disturbed the peace of England, the peasantry were aroused by the attempts to enforce their old manorial services and the unskilled urban workers were irked by restrictive gild and other regulations enforced for the benefit of the rich burgesses. The govern-ment, pressed for money, resorted to poll taxes and the workers

evaded them and then, when government officials attempted to enforce the collection of the taxes, broke out into armed rebellion in 1381. Their rude army entered London where the young king met them, promised them relief and as his armed forces gathered about him, permitted them to disperse. Elsewhere the revolt was easily put down and when Parliament next met it revoked all the promises Richard II had made.

Richard began to show his vicious temper, rebuffed the demand of Parliament that it control the crown expenditures and then was forced to yield. The parliamentary council of barons was as unscrupulous as Richard threatened to become, and in 1389 he again gained control of the government. Probably because of the admirable influence of his wife he ruled well for five years. Parliament significantly passed a new Statute of Provisors and a new Statute of Præmunire, and Richard attempted to reform the administration in Ireland, where the English now controlled not much more than the countryside around Dublin. The queen's death removed the greatest stabilizing influence he had experienced, and Richard seemed to go almost mad with a lust for power. He extorted money in all possible ways, squandered it prodigally, imprisoned great numbers of people on any or no pretext, and forced Parliament to declare him practically a dictator. He exiled his cousin, Henry of Lancaster, and then despite his promises not to do so, seized the estates of Henry's father, John of Gaunt. Richard II managed to alienate even those who had once supported him and when Henry of Lancaster returned to England at the head of a small army he was completely deserted, taken prisoner, forced to abdicate, and like Edward II before him, was secretly murdered. Parliament thereupon declared Henry of Lancaster king as Henry IV.

*Misrule and
despotism of
Richard II*

*Henry IV
of Lancaster*
The reign of Henry IV (1399–1413) was very troubled. The Percies of Northumberland defeated an invading Scotch army, quarreled with Henry because he could not pay them at once and revolted in concert with the Welsh under Owen Glendower. In 1403 Henry IV defeated and killed the younger Percy, Henry Hotspur, and then defeated the Welsh. He put down another serious rising in England some years later and in 1408 defeated and killed the elder Percy. Henry's son, Shakespeare's Prince Hal, by continued campaigns rendered the elusive Glendower not so menacing, and the French, under the mad Charles VI and rent by factional wars between the Orléanists

*Revolt of
the Percies*

and the Burgundians, were willing enough to keep the peace. But Henry's last years were rendered difficult by his failing health and by Prince Hal's obvious impatience to assume the crown.

Under Henry IV, whom it had made king, Parliament asserted its *Parliament* power. It established the principles that the Commons should originate *under* money grants, that debate should be free and that supplies should be *Henry IV* voted only after grievances had been redressed. It forced Henry to accept a permanent council of its own choosing, an early forerunner of the modern cabinet. Its statute *de hæretico comburendo* (1401), authorizing the government officials to assist in the punishment of heretics, was directed against the Lollards, whose simple preachers had gained a wide following, particularly among the lower classes.

Henry V (1413–22), the next Lancastrian, was genuinely orthodox *Henry V* in his convictions and whereas his father had quieted the Church by an occasional persecution of a few heretics, Henry V at once imprisoned the Lollard leader, Sir John Oldcastle, who had been an official under Henry IV. Oldcastle escaped and planned a great uprising. Henry defeated the rebels, and after the execution of Oldcastle, Lollardry *Suppression* was effectively crushed in England. Henry V unfortunately itched *of Lollardry* for the glory of a successful war in France, partly perhaps to unite his uneasy subjects in a common cause. Taking advantage of the continued factional wars in France he demanded terms which he knew that France would find impossible and prepared a force to invade the distracted country. He made short work of a conspiracy against him, sailed across the Channel to win the great victory of Agincourt in 1415, and re- *Battle of* turned to prepare for another and larger invasion. Two years later *Agincourt* he departed again for France, and except for a few months after the Treaty of Troyes in 1420 he spent the rest of his short reign abroad. With the assistance of the Burgundians he captured Paris and other cities. Finally his exertions wore him out and he took to bed and died in France. His military successes were temporary in result, and the high taxes necessary to pay for them were at his death a heavy burden on the English.

Henry VI (1422–61) was an infant when his father died. His father had provided in his will that his two brothers, John duke of Bedford and Humphrey duke of Gloucester should be regents, the *End of the* former in France, the latter in England. Bedford, an extremely able *Hundred* and devoted man, managed to maintain English power in France de- *Years' War*

spite the temporary successes of Jean Darc. Gloucester was not so successful an administrator in England. Taxes for the war abroad became steadily more galling to the English and they could not hope much longer to maintain their ascendancy over a country which, however devastated, was still richer and more populous than England and which now was welded into a nation. Bedford died in 1435, the duke of Burgundy forsook his English alliance and thereafter the English lost steadily until the defeat of Talbot and the capture of Bordeaux in 1453 ended the war and the long drain of English blood and treasure in France.

The marriage of Henry VI to Margaret of Anjou, niece of Charles VII, was unpopular in England; Henry proved to be a pious and gentle man and an ineffective ruler and Margaret to be arrogant and troublesome. Richard, duke of York, by blood could claim a better title to the crown than Henry as he was descended from Lionel, a son of Edward III who was senior to John of Gaunt, Henry's great-grandfather. During a fit of insanity which rendered Henry VI utterly helpless, Richard became regent. Though he resigned his position when Henry regained his faculties, the kingdom was hopelessly divided. The factions shortly broke out into a civil war called the Wars of the Roses because the Yorkist emblem was the white rose and the Lancastrians later adopted the red rose as their emblem.

Wars of the Roses

In the confused wars which followed, Richard Neville, duke of Warwick and "the last of the barons" who insisted on ruling the king or fighting him, was the stormiest petrel of all. Richard, duke of York, was killed in 1460, but by the aid of Warwick his son assumed the crown the next year as Edward IV (1461–83). Henry VI and Margaret fled to Scotland, whence she managed to direct her partisans. The king returned to England and was captured and imprisoned. Edward IV rebuffed Warwick, who had arranged for his marriage to Louis XI's sister-in-law, by marrying the daughter of a Lancastrian family and by removing Warwick's brother from the position of chancellor. Warwick thereupon fomented a rebellion which drove Edward out of the country, and England had one king in prison and another in exile. In another bewildering series of battles, Louis XI and Charles of Burgundy aided opposing English factions, and poor Henry VI was even momentarily restored to the throne. Finally Edward IV defeated and killed Warwick, probably murdered Henry

Edward IV

VI and at last obtained the throne without resistance. He permitted Louis XI to buy his defection from his alliance with Charles the Bold of Burgundy. His French pension, the revenues from the estates he confiscated and from his business ventures, and the forced loans he exacted in his cheerful, if high-handed way, from his subjects made him practically independent of grants from Parliament. Until his death he ruled with a strong hand and at least maintained some order in the realm, which England found welcome.

Richard, duke of Gloucester and Edward IV's brother, was appointed protector of the realm during the minority of his little nephews. He immediately had himself declared king as Richard III. Only *Richard III* thirty-five peers attended parliament, being nearly the whole of the body, so much had it been reduced by the wars and attainders. His throne, however, was constantly endangered by the Lancastrian exiles. The character of Richard was much traduced by partisans historical writers who lived in the reign of his victorious successor, notably Robert Fabian, a London alderman and chronicler; and these glaringly prejudiced charges were later embellished by Sir Thomas More, Sir Francis Bacon and Shakespere. But the statutes of the realm and the records of Richard III's reign reveal him in a very different light. The crimes imputed to him are not, in any single instance, supported by conclusive evidence, and it is certain that the nation as a whole approved his course. The received theory that he murdered his two nephews in the Tower of London is not sustained. It is more probable that their mother contrived their escape in the interval between Richard's death and the entry of Henry VII into London, and that Henry, not Richard III caused them to be put to death in order to make sure of his own succession.

Even Richard III's enemies admit that he ruled with vigor and ability, and that wise and just laws were enacted by his parliament. Several matters which date from his reign are justly considered of great importance. The statutes of his parliament were the first which were drawn up in the English language, as they were also the first which were printed; the office of consul, so important to the interest of merchants, was established by him, and the English post office, based on a system of couriers instituted by Richard III for the rapid transmission of intelligence during his campaigns in Scotland in 1481 and 1482, may be ascribed to him. Richard III's fall was due not to

hatred of his crimes, but to the arms of his hereditary foes and the treachery of such men as Stanley and Northumberland, to whom he had entrusted important offices.

Death of Richard III at Bosworth Field

Henry Tudor, earl of Richmond and the Lancastrian with the best claim to the crown, returned from exile, gathered an army about him and defeated Richard at Bosworth in 1485. Shakespeare to the contrary, Richard III died wearing his crown, fighting desperately and shouting "Treason!" The crown was recovered under a bush and placed on the head of the first Tudor king, Henry VII.

Accession of Henry VII Tudor

Despite the chronic wars of the two centuries we have just passed in review, England made some progress in the arts of civilization in common with the rest of Europe. In 1378 London had about 46,000 inhabitants. The Wars of the Roses upset the countryside, but were not disastrous to the towns. In business, which must be considered one of the humbler but essential arts of any civilization, the English greatly expanded. The Merchants of the Staple engaged vigorously in the selling of wool. When cloth manufacturing developed in England, Englishmen undertook to sell it themselves, and their new organiza-

Progress of civilization

tion, the Merchant Adventurers, soon outstripped in importance the Merchants of the Staple. The Merchant Adventurers protected their own cargoes and competed with the Hanseatic League to the point of private war and piracy. Printing was introduced into England by Caxton about 1474. The universities continued to be encouraged. Poor gentle Henry VI founded King's College, Cambridge, and the equally famous public school at Eton. The building of many noble churches and monasteries in the peculiarly gracious and charming English Gothic continued until the countryside seemed covered with a white garment. By this time, too, the English language was well formed, Chaucer had written the *Canterbury Tales,* and in another century England was to see the great burst of literary genius which occurred under the Tudors. Although, because it could not suppress factions within itself during the turbulent fifteenth century, Parliament lost the authority it once enjoyed, the memory of that authority remained and was serviceable two centuries later.

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CHAPTER XXVIII

THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

THE Hundred Years' War is the name for the last period in the long struggle of the French kings to expel the English from their French fiefs. It was not a continuous war, for neither nation could possibly have endured so great an effort, but rather an intermittent series of invasions, battles and truces. For convenience we may distinguish three periods in the Hundred Years' War. The first period, between 1337 and 1380, is marked by the English victory at Crécy and capture of Calais, the second English victory at Poitiers; the rebellion of Paris and the Jacquerie, the Treaty of Brétigny and French recovery under Charles V. Though no formal peace was declared, there were no hostilities in the second period from 1380 and 1415. The third period, between 1415 and 1453, is marked by the renewal of the war by Henry V of England and his ally the duke of Burgundy, the English victory at Agincourt and conquest of all northern France, the victories of Jean Darc, the return of Burgundy to French allegiance and final French expulsion of the English.

Louis de Nevers, Count of Flanders and a French vassal, was expelled by his subjects and forced to take refuge in France. Shortly after his accession in 1328 Philip VI gathered an army to restore his

vassal and to atone for the French defeat at Courtrai in 1302. At Cassel he defeated the Flemish so decisively that French influence was supreme in all Flanders except Ghent, ten thousand Flemings were executed, the privileges of the towns were abolished and many ruined Flemish burghers and nobles fled to England. In 1336 Count Louis arrested all the English merchants in Flanders. Edward III countered by forbidding the export of wool abroad and thus threatened to cripple the important Flemish weaving industry. French political ascendancy and English commercial interests were impossible neighbors in Flanders.

In Flanders itself appeared Jacob Van Artevelde, one of the first great commoners of history. Under his leadership Ghent freed itself

of the count of Flanders and renewed commercial relations with England. The pope threatened the Flemish with an interdict if they did not support the "king of France." Artevelde then suggested that Edward III assume that title, as his mother was a daughter of Philip IV. Edward III had done homage for his French fiefs and had accepted the decision of the parlement that women could neither inherit the crown not transmit it. Yet he quartered the lilies of France upon his arms, assumed the bold words "Dieu et mon droit" as the motto of the English crown, claimed the throne of France and was recognized by the Flemings. Philip assembled a huge fleet at the harbor of Sluys *English* to stop trade with the English and probably to attack England itself. *naval victor* In 1340 an English fleet attacked and destroyed the French ships and *at Sluys* the later English naval supremacy was well begun. At papal suggestion a truce was then made between France and England. Artevelde's efforts to organize the government in Flanders were crippled by the ambitions of Ghent, Bruges and Ypres each to be the capital. The workers in the towns also rebelled against the rich gildsmen and employers and the count of Flanders returned. In the confused civil war Artevelde was killed in 1345 and the English soon lost their ascendancy in Flanders.

The English and French continued hostilities by supporting opposing sides of a partisan war in Brittany. Then Edward III prepared a great expedition, landed at La Hogue on the coast of Normandy *Invasion of* in July, 1346, and for six weeks the English marched through the *Normandy* defenseless country. A contemporary writes that they destroyed a swath of territory fifteen miles wide and that at night their line of march glowed with burning villages, farmsteads, standing crops and orchards. At last a great French army began to close in on them and now Edward III marched desperately for the coast to the north. The French had cut the bridges over the Seine but the English repaired one, crossed the river below Paris and hastened on to avoid being caught between the Somme and the sea. The bridges over the Somme, too, were cut and the weary English just managed to find a place where, despite the French guard, they could cross at low tide. They had hardly made the crossing when the French appeared behind them and were stopped by the rising tide. Then Edward halted at Crécy, deployed his army and waited the French attack.

On August 26 the French army advanced to Crécy. Philip VI *Battle of* planned not to attack until his army, stretched out along the road, *Crécy*

could be better disposed. But the French in the van would not hold back and those in the rear kept spurring on, shouting death to the English. The Genoese mercenaries were ordered to attack with their cross bows. In a sudden shower the Genoese had failed to keep their bows dry and their bolts fell short. The English archers, who had protected their bows in the rain, opened a tremendous fire. The mercenaries tried to retreat and the impatient knights rode them down. In successive waves, the French reached their own confused front and there were slaughtered in great numbers. The French losses were possibly twenty thousand; the English lost about fifty. The hero of the battle was the English long-bow. With it an expert archer could send his steel-pointed arrows through four inches of oak, or an armored man or horse. The long-bow ended the feudal military system: a common yeoman was more than a match for a feudal knight, though the knight did not wake up to the fact for many years.

Capture of Calais

With the French army so completely destroyed, the English marched north and besieged Calais from September, 1346, to June, 1347, when it surrendered. England now had an excellent port from which to invade France and to protect its great wool trade with Flanders. Papal action again brought about a truce which was, however, poorly observed and Edward III returned to England. In Flanders the count had defeated the pro-English workers, and there French power was still strong. England was flooded with loot from France. A contemporary said that even peasants' cottages were garnished with spoil.

Black Death

In 1348 and 1349 the Black Death swept over Europe and for a time the kings did not go to war. This terrible plague originated in Asia, was carried along the trade routes to the Black Sea and thence was spread along the Mediterranean and through Europe. The disease was most loathsome and deadly. Subcutaneous hemorrhages caused black spots in the skin, from which the plague took its name. Other symptoms were boils, swollen glands, convulsions and vomiting of blood. Victims of the plague died in a day or two. The entire crews of ships died and the ships drifted aimlessly to spread the plague wherever they were blown. The dead were so numerous that they were buried in huge pits or in rivers which had been consecrated to receive them. Possibly a third, certainly not nearly one half of the population died. In their fear some of the people turned to religion and the

Church, or in desperation sought oblivion in mad orgies. A rumor spread that the Jews had brought on the plague by poisoning the wells and frenzied mobs killed thousands of these unfortunate folk. The economic and social effects of the great decrease in population were very great. The decline of serfdom was accelerated. Proprietors found themselves with supplies of labor insufficient to work their lands and were forced to remit many manorial dues and even to bid against one another for laborers. Legal efforts to prevent laborers from obtaining increases in wages seem to have been futile.

Philip VI died in 1350, before the English could renew their attacks. In 1355 the Black Prince made a great looting expedition in the south of France. In 1356 he was unsoldierly enough to ravage the valley of the Loire with an almost unsupported army of about seven thousand men. With a vastly larger army King John at last met him and might easily have starved the English into surrender. But the French were too full of knightly ideas to do anything but charge the English in the position the prince had selected near Poitiers. The long- *Battle of* bow defeated the French again, even more disastrously than at Crécy. *Poitiers* The English were positively endangered by the number of their prisoners, King John and two of his sons among them. So they slaughtered all the common soldiers they had captured and marched back to Bordeaux. In 1357 a truce was declared and John was taken to England, lodged in a palace, provided with servants and permitted to hunt in the royal forests.

Entire provinces of France again had been devastated. Wandering companies of mercenaries from both armies plundered the countryside, already desolated. The Dauphin,[1] Charles, struggled to maintain some kind of order in the chaos. Before the battle of Poitiers the States General had agreed to the taxes necessary for the war only if they might superintend their collection and inspect their disbursement. After the defeat at Poitiers the dauphin was compelled to summon them again. The leader of the States General was Étienne Marcel, *Étienne* provost of the merchants of Paris, an office equivalent to that of mayor. *Marcel* Marcel had been to Flanders and may have planned to make Paris a free city. Under Marcel the States General tried to force the dauphin to dismiss his advisers and accept ministers indicated by themselves.

[1] After the acquisition of Dauphiné by Philip VI the crown prince of France nominally ruled it and was called dauphin as the English crown prince is called the Prince of Wales.

Revolt of Paris (1358)

The dauphin prorogued the States. Marcel armed the Parisians and under this threat Charles dismissed his ministers, recalled the States General, renounced the right to impose taxes without their consent and accepted a council from their members. From England King John expressed his disapproval and the dauphin appealed to the provinces. Marcel invaded the Louvre with some of his armed followers and two of Charles's advisers were murdered. The partisans of Marcel, wearing the red and blue colors of the provost of the merchants, paraded the streets and threatened the upper classes. Charles escaped from Paris and with a States General at Compiègne he was more successful.

The Jacquerie

The nobles sneeringly dubbed the peasant *Jacques Bonhomme*. Now, in Champagne, the peasants broke out in local uprisings called the *Jacquerie*. Miserable enough always, they had been fearfully ravaged by the English and the mercenary companies and yet were forced to pay their dues to the nobles who had not been able to fulfil the duties of protecting them. Armed with scythes and bill-hooks, peasant bands burned and murdered. They were unorganized and in two months the nobles had put down the rising, after killing or burning twenty thousand. The misery of the countryside was increased and famine was widespread. The Jacquerie alienated the nobility and the other towns from the Parisians under Marcel, who was thought to have encouraged it. Marcel's own partisans became more and more unruly and finally Marcel was murdered and Charles then returned to Paris.

Treaty of Brétigny (1360)

In 1359 Edward III made a futile invasion. The French retired before him to their castles and in the stricken country the English had difficulty in supporting themselves. In 1360, by the Treaty of Brétigny, Edward agreed to drop his claims to the French crown and was confirmed in his possession of Guienne, Gascony, Calais and Ponthieu without homage for them and the French agreed to pay a huge ransom for King John. John returned to France, leaving in England some French nobles as hostages for the payment of the ransom. To his son Philip, who had saved his life at Poitiers, John gave the duchy of Touraine and later that of Burgundy, and Philip became the first lord of the realm. After his marriage had brought him Flanders and Artois, as duke of Burgundy he rivaled the king in power. Some of the French nobles left in England as hostages for John violated their parole, and John, finding Paris unpleasant to live in, made a pretext of their con-

duct to return to England where he gambled and hunted without anxiety and died in 1364. He seems to have been a cheerful and worthless soul, ambitious only to live as the romances said true knights should. Little of his ransom was ever paid.
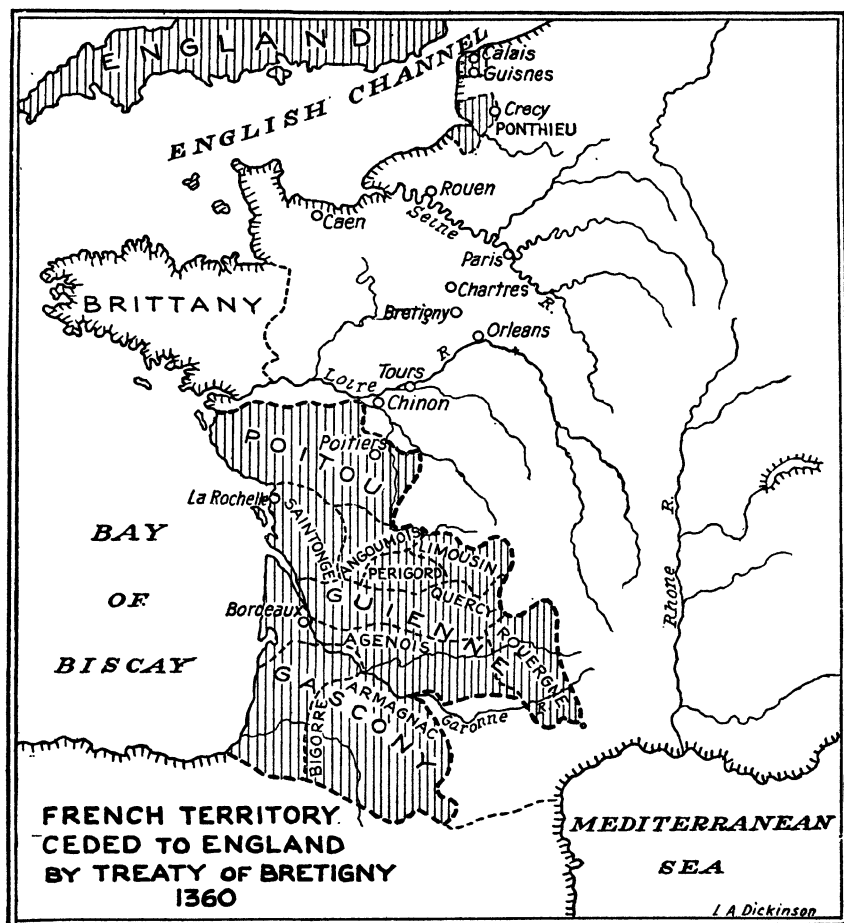
Charles V (1364-80), frail and sickly, ruled a distracted country. Charles gave Bertrand Du Guesclin, a Breton noble, the task of suppressing the mercenary companies. Du Guesclin did this with great effectiveness and soon had rid the country of most of them. In 1370 he was made Constable of France for his services. With the army in such

Reconstruction of France under Charles V

capable hands, Charles in Paris labored to reconstruct the country. He promoted markets, remedied the administration of justice, improved the coinage and had the roads repaired and policed. He levied taxes without the old abuses and built up a new army and a new fleet. The cities of the central provinces were fortified to withstand sieges. The country rapidly recovered its prosperity. The treasury was no longer empty.

Charles secretly treated with and subsidized the discontented nobles of Gascony, where English taxes were heavy and where finally, to pay his mercenaries, the Black Prince levied an irritating hearth-tax (*fouage*). On the appeal of some Gascon nobles to him Charles summoned the prince to appear in Paris. Though only by a technicality could Charles claim that he was still suzerain of Gascony, he did have the genuine grievance that English "free companies" were not suppressed by the prince and that they persistently ravaged French territory.

The Black Prince

The Black Prince invaded the Limousin in 1369 and the French laid waste the land and retired before him into their castles. Du Guesclin marched about in Guienne, attacking the most unexpected places. In 1370 the prince successfully besieged Limoges and, sparing the defending knights, slaughtered the entire population. But his army was now mostly composed of mercenaries rather than of English bowmen, and he met with little except reverses. Avoiding pitched battles, Du Guesclin dogged the English armies, annoyed them by picking off stragglers and foraging parties, and as the English could not replenish their supplies from the fortified towns, they soon were almost starving. In 1372 a Castilian fleet allied with the French destroyed an English fleet off La Rochelle. In 1373 De Montfort was driven from Brittany and the Black Prince, in broken health, returned to England. Though a truce was made in 1374 and prolonged to 1377, the French nevertheless continued their attacks and overran almost all Gascony. When the truce expired at the death of Edward III in 1377, Charles renewed the war. Du Guesclin's annoying tactics continued to be successful and he over-ran Guienne. Oliver de Clisson, a fellow Breton and Constable of France after Du Guesclin, occupied Brittany. Edward III complained of Charles V, that "never was there a king of France who had less to do with fighting and never one who gave me so much trouble." When Charles V and his great constable died in 1380 the English

Constable Du Guesclin

Successes of Du Guesclin

Death of Charles V and Du Guesclin

retained control only of the ports of Calais, Brest, Bordeaux and Bayonne.

The death of Charles V was a great blow to the French. Charles VI was only twelve. His unprincipled uncles, the dukes of Anjou, Berry and Burgundy, seized the regency and began the factions, corruption and oppressive taxation which were to bear so heavily on the country. At the age of twenty-three Charles VI lost his reason, but as he intermittently recovered it he could not be deposed. In 1382 the workers of Paris, now shut out of the gilds and mere wage earners, rose in one of the workers' rebellions which were epidemic in the cities of Europe at that time. In the same year Philip Van Artevelde, son of Jacob Van Artevelde, led a rebellion of the Flemings and tried to make an alliance with England. The Flemish army was completely destroyed by the French under Oliver de Clisson; the Flemish towns were punished by terrible reprisals and thereafter they never regained their old medieval liberties. John the Fearless, duke of Burgundy, and grandson of King John, suspected that his rival Louis, duke of Orléans, planned to depose the mad king and assume the throne, and in 1407 he had Louis assassinated, and became the supreme power in France. *Minority of Charles VI*

Battle of Rosbec (1382)

A faction to oppose the Burgundians now grew up about Bernard, count of Armagnac. The duke of Orléans, guiding French policy, had refused to recognize Henry IV as king of England and the Armagnac faction continued his hostility to Henry IV. But the duke of Burgundy was quite willing to side with Henry and in 1411 with the aid of some English troops captured Paris from the Armagnacs, but restored it when the factions momentarily united. Henry V of England then invaded France. In 1415 he landed an army on the French coast, besieged and captured Harfleur and then marched north toward Calais. A French army intercepted him at Agincourt. There, on October 25, the English again defeated a greatly superior French army, losing about 100 themselves, killing about 6000 Frenchmen and capturing over 800 nobles. Henry V then marched on to Calais and sailed back to England. There he made an alliance with the duke of Burgundy, who had hitherto remained neutral, invaded France again and with Burgundian aid conquered Normandy. In 1418 the English army captured Paris. Henry V's terms of peace were so impossible that the duke agreed to confer with the dauphin on the possibility of common war against the English. As the duke knelt to do homage, the dauphin *French factions*

Battle of Agincourt

*The English
conquer
Northern
France*

foolishly and treacherously ordered his guardsmen to kill him. Philip the Good, the succeeding duke of Burgundy, immediately joined the English and the French were forced to accept the humiliating terms of the Treaty of Troyes (1420) by which they recognized Henry V's claims to France. Henry continued to capture Orléanist territory and when he died in 1422 he had effectively established his power in the provinces awarded him by the treaty. Orléans was now the only important city the French possessed north of the Loire. Normandy, Maine, Touraine, Champagne, even the Île de France and Paris were in the hands of the English. Anjou was the only province north of the Loire unoccupied by the English.

*Impotence of
Charles VII*

Charles VI also died in 1422. The Orléanists proclaimed the Dauphin Charles VII and the English proclaimed the infant Henry VI as King of France. Charles VII seemed unable to do anything but hold his poor and faction-ridden court at either Bourges or Chinon. The duke of Brittany joined the English, and English successes continued. About the only French resistance was that of the separate company captains. As Orléans alone barred their way to the last southern provinces, the English attacked it without success in 1428 and then in October of that year laid siege to it. Charles, holding his court at Chinon, seemed totally impotent and some of his advisers even suggested that he flee to Spain or Scotland. Then, in March, 1429, a seventeen year old peasant girl appeared at the court.

*Coming of
Jean Darc*

Jean Darc [1] was born in Domrémy, a village between Champagne and Lorraine. She early heard voices which with increasing clearness told her to save her king. As the voices became more imperative she went to a French captain at Vaucoulers and obtained from him a guard to conduct her to Chinon through the territory controlled by the English and Burgundians. Dressed in male clothing she arrived at the court and singled out the dauphin from a number of courtiers among whom he had tried to hide. Curiously enough he stirred himself at last to have a plain suit of armor made for her and to give her a few soldiers with

*Relief of
Orléans*

which to relieve Orléans. As she marched toward the city other soldiers joined her forces. They made their way into the city and had supplies brought in by boat. But most important, the morale of the French defenders was marvelously changed by her presence. Says a French chronicler of the time, "Before she came, two hundred Englishmen

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[1] This spelling is more historical than other forms.

FRANCE

SHOWING ADDITIONS TO THE MONARCHY
BETWEEN 1273 & 1494

Shaded Area shows
Possessions of the
English King in France
upon the Accession of
Henry VI, 1422

L A Dickinson

used to drive five hundred Frenchmen before them. After her coming, two hundred Frenchmen could chase five hundred Englishmen." La Hire, the French commander who had once described the demoralized French army by saying, "If God should turn man-at-arms, He would be a cut-throat," even ceased to swear by anything except his marshal's baton. As the French were encouraged, the English were correspondingly depressed and thought a witch was fighting against them. Before the renewed attacks of the French the English retired from Orléans. Jean's theory of war was simply to hit hard and often, a more effective system than the desultory tactics then largely in vogue, and she rapidly won a series of victories over the English. She persuaded Charles to go to Reims and in July 1429 he was crowned King Charles VII of France in the great cathedral. Jean, standing behind him with her famous white banner, wept tears of joy.

Coronation of Charles VII

From that time her fortunes changed. She advised an attack on Paris, but it was not made until it was too late. She wished she might return to her sheep, but she continued to lead French troops in the territory east of Paris. In May, 1430, she was captured by the Burgundians before Compiègne. Six months later the duke of Burgundy sold her for ten thousand pounds to the English, who imprisoned her in Rouen and then had her tried as a heretic and a witch.

Jean Darc is captured

We cannot doubt the sincerity of Jean's belief in the voices or of her devotion to the Church. Neither can we doubt the nobility and purity of her character. Camping and fighting with her soldiers she maintained the spotless purity of her character and partly through her discipline but more through her example, she changed a brawling, cruel, disordered soldiery into a well-disciplined and effective army. The English seem to have been convinced of her supernatural powers, which they of course thought were demoniac, and they comprehensibly were furious at her for reviving French morale. The clergy naturally felt uneasy at her claim to be inspired by heavenly voices. Only Charles VII can be unhesitatingly condemned. He made no attempt to ransom her or even to send her word from himself or from any of her former captains or from her family.

After a long confinement she was brought to trial before an ecclesiastical court. Her quiet bearing, her naïve and lucid intelligence, her amazing native shrewdness profoundly impressed her judges. At the end of a long day she could still say to the inquisitors, "My good lords,

I beg you, one at a time." Asked if she knew she was in the grace of God she replied, "May God bring me into His grace if I am not; if I am in it, may He keep me there." Thus she avoided presuming on the authority of the Church by saying "Yes" and convicting herself by saying "No." Asked the secret of her power over the soldiers she answered, "I told them to go on boldly against the English, and at the same time I went forward myself." The trial was interrupted by her serious illness. On her return she was asked by a solicitous judge how she felt, and she replied, "You can see for yourself. I am as well as it is possible for me to be." For long days the girl disarmed her judges by her ingenuous candor and shrewdness. Nevertheless she was finally condemned as a heretic. *Trial and conviction*

As a condemned heretic the girl faced the prospect of dying without benefit of the sacraments of the Church, a most terrible deprivation for such a devout soul. In sight of the implements of torture which threatened she recanted her errors. Her sentence was then changed to one of imprisonment for life. But the English were not satisfied. One of Jean's sins had been the wearing of men's clothing. Her woman's clothing was taken away at night and male clothing put in her cell. She was thus tricked into resuming it. She also protested against her recantation, "Whatever I have said was from fear. . . . I told you the truth of everything at the trial. . . . I did not understand what was in the deed of abjuration." As a relapsed heretic she was condemned to death and turned over to the English for execution. On May 30, 1431, in the market square of Rouen she was burned at the stake. At the request of Charles VII, who wished only to remove the charge that he owed his throne to the efforts of a witch, in 1455 the pope permitted her case to be retried and she was declared innocent of heresy. In 1909 Pope Pius X declared her beatified; in 1919 Benedict XV canonized her and the Maid of Orléans became one of the saints of the Church. *Abjuration and relapse*

But despite the services of Jean the English hold on France was not immediately relaxed. Though factions struggled in England and parliament became ever more unwilling to support the war, the English maintained their possessions. In 1435 the French offered to cede Normandy and Guienne to the English provided they would relinquish their claim to the French crown. Unmoved by the protests of the papal legate, the English refused. Charles VII was then taken in hand

Treaty of Arras (1435) by better advisers. In the treaty of Arras he released the duke of Burgundy, who was in fact much stronger than the crown, from feudal homage, concluded an alliance with him and reorganized the administration and the army. A new tax, the *taille*, which was permanent and non-feudal, enabled him to replace the intermittent feudal armies by *Expulsion of the English from France* regular companies of soldiers, the francs-archers. French arms became increasingly effective and now the English were without the services of the Burgundians. In 1436 the French took Paris and gained ground steadily against the English. Their successes were halted by a truce from 1444 to 1449, and immediately resumed. The English were exhausted by the war and English domination had at last bred a spirit of unity in the French. The French recovered their provinces as fast as they could move their armies and as Charles VII rode through Anjou and Normandy, the very peasants cheered him, patted his horse, kissed the skirt of his riding-coat. The English in desperation sent out Talbot, a veteran of Agincourt, to save at least Bordeaux. In 1453 Talbot was defeated and killed at Castillon, the French took Bordeaux and the Hundred Years' War was over. The English controlled only Calais.

Charles VII remains an unworthy character. As he left Jean Darc *Jacques Coeur* to perish, so he abandoned Jacques Coeur, who was the greatest French merchant of the day; his home at Bourges remains one of the finest Gothic domestic buildings in Europe. Coeur contributed generously to the royal treasury and though he was of the bourgeoisie, received many offices from Charles VII. But when Coeur's enemies *Growth of the French* trumped up some charges against him Charles VII, rather than defend his loyal and able servant, had him condemned and his property confiscated. Despite his personal character Charles VII, who began his reign so inauspiciously, ended it in 1461 as the head of a large and powerful kingdom. The population of France before the Black Death was perhaps 16,000,000, and it had probably again reached or even passed this figure by the end of the fifteenth century.

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CHAPTER XXIX

GERMANY AND EASTERN EUROPE TO 1500

THE history of Germany in the fourteenth and fifteenth cen-
turies is very confused. The old tribal duchies had vanished
and the petty nobles struggled each to increase his own
power. Quite apart from all the feudal principalities were the free
cities. The emperor was only interested to use his office to the benefit
of his own house. There was no single ruling dynasty and no event
which concerned all Germany. We can probably best understand this
period of German history by emphasizing certain major events: the
rise of the Hapsburgs, the reign of the Emperor Ludwig IV, the reign
of Charles IV and the Golden Bull, the formation of Switzerland, the
conquest of Prussia by the Teutonic knights, and the Hanseatic League.

The Habsburgs The Habsburgs presumably take their name from a castle—Habs-
burg, Hawk's Castle—in Aargau in German Switzerland. In the
Middle Ages it was part of southern Swabia. Though the Hapsburgs
trace their lineage to the tenth century, and their earliest official act
is dated 1064, their fortunes really began when Barbarossa conferred
upon them the landgraviate of Alsace, the county of Zürich and the
"protection" of two monasteries. In the first half of the next century
they added other fiefs and monasteries in Switzerland to their estates.
In 1273, at the end of the Interregnum, Rudolf of Habsburg was
elected emperor. The imperial title carried no right of taxation and
no crown lands, but the emperor could still enforce the feudal laws
of escheat and forfeiture.

After the death of the last Babenberger in 1248 Austria had fallen
to Ottocar II, margrave of Moravia and later king of Bohemia. Otto-
car added to his lands Carinthia and Carniola and made his kingdom
of Bohemia one of the most powerful in Europe. Ottocar was a candi-
date for the crown, but he failed of election and Rudolf as emperor
summoned him to justify his acquisition of these territories. Ottocar
Battle of Marchfeld agreed to cede the territory to Rudolf, broke his promise and was killed
fighting the emperor's army at the battle of the Marchfeld (1278).

Rudolf then took possession of Austria and Styria. His son, Albert, was defeated in the imperial election of 1291, but eight years later succeeded in becoming emperor. On Albert's death in 1308 Henry VII of Luxemburg became emperor. His son acquired Bohemia by marriage and the Luxemburgers rivaled the Habsburgs. Henry VII foolishly attempted to revive imperial power in Italy. He was hailed by the Ghibellines, Dante among them, crowned in Rome and died before he could return to Germany.

Ludwig IV (1314–47) duke of Bavaria, was next elected. He attempted an intervention in Italy, but fortunately he saw his folly and returned to Germany. He acquired Brandenburg by escheat and his house threatened to rival the Habsburgs and Luxemburgers. The pope now attempted to interfere in Germany and declared Ludwig deposed and excommunicated. Ludwig managed to remain in power by playing upon the mutual jealousies of Habsburg and Luxemburger, and in the law *Licet juris* the German princes told the pope very baldly that he was a meddler. "The false and dangerous doctrine that the emperor elect is not emperor until his election is confirmed and approved by the pope is clearly the work of the ancient enemy of mankind, attempting to stir up strife and discord." In 1342 the count of Holland died leaving his sister as his sole heir. The emperor's prospect of securing such a magnificent fief by escheat aroused the jealousy of some of the electors, who tried to depose Ludwig IV. He managed to maintain himself until his death in 1347 but he was unable to enforce his claim to the Low Countries.

Ludwig IV of Bavaria

"Licet juris"

Charles IV (1347–1378), grandson of Henry VII, was next elected. Like his predecessors he used the imperial title chiefly to increase his *Hausmacht* (house-power) and he added a good deal of scattered territories, notably Brandenburg, to his Bavarian and Luxemburg holdings. His most important act was to issue the *Golden Bull*, so called from the gold case enclosing its seal, in 1356. The confusion of the empire was frequently increased by disputes over elections and the Golden Bull was issued to define the duties of electors, the persons who could be electors and the form of the election. The Golden Bull established nothing new but simply defined the existing practices. Largely because seven was a magic number, there had long been just seven electors. The Golden Bull provided that they should remain seven in number: the archbishops of Mainz, Cologne and Trèves, the king of

Charles IV and the Golden Bull

Bohemia, the count palatine of the Rhine, the duke of Saxony and the margrave of Brandenburg. Elections were to be held at Frankfort and coronations at Aix-la-Chapelle. Each electoral house was to have only one vote and its lands and privileges were to be transmitted according to the right of primogeniture. But the way was still left open for electors to obtain promises from candidates and thus to continue the disgraceful bargaining which marked elections and which provoked so much later ill-feeling and even war. But if the Golden Bull did no more, it at least tended to stop territorial disintegration.

Charles IV, instead of keeping his own lands together, parcelled them out among his sons. Wenzel, who succeeded him, was soon discouraged in his attempt to establish order in Germany, took to drink for consolation, became an incredible sot and was deposed in 1400. After a dispute lasting ten years Sigismund, a younger son of Charles IV, was elected through the efforts of Frederick of Hohenzollern, burgrave of Nuremberg, whom he rewarded with Brandenburg. The Hohenzollerns derived their name from their family castle of Zollern in Swabia. They produced men who were competent administrators of the family estates and who were usually able to add more territory, and hereafter they rose steadily in power. Sigismund as king of Hungary had waged unsuccessful wars against the Turks. He was sincerely interested in the reform of the Church, called the Council of Constance and was active in it. We remember also that he did not compel the Council to honor the safe-conduct he gave John Huss.

Rise of the Hohenzollerns

Sigismund left no male heirs and Albert of Habsburg (1438–9) was made emperor, to live only a year. Frederick III (1440–93), Albert's son, was next elected. The Habsburgs had established and maintained the family principle that their lands should not be divided and that brothers should rule jointly. They had thus maintained their power intact. Now they established themselves as emperors, for Frederick III ruled so long that he built up a Habsburg tradition and until it was abolished by Napoleon the Holy Roman Empire always had a Habsburg on its throne. Maximilian I (1493–1519) Frederick III's son, was an important figure before he became emperor in 1493. He married the daughter of Charles the Bold, disputed for the Burgundian lands with Louis XI of France after the death of Charles in 1477 and added the wealthiest of them, the Low Countries, to the Hapsburg

The Habsburgs acquire the crown

Beginnings of the permanent rule of the Habsburgs

AUSTRIAN LANDS
TO 1527

Acquired 1282
Acquired 1282-1521
Acquired 1521-1526
Acquired after 1526
Temporary possessions
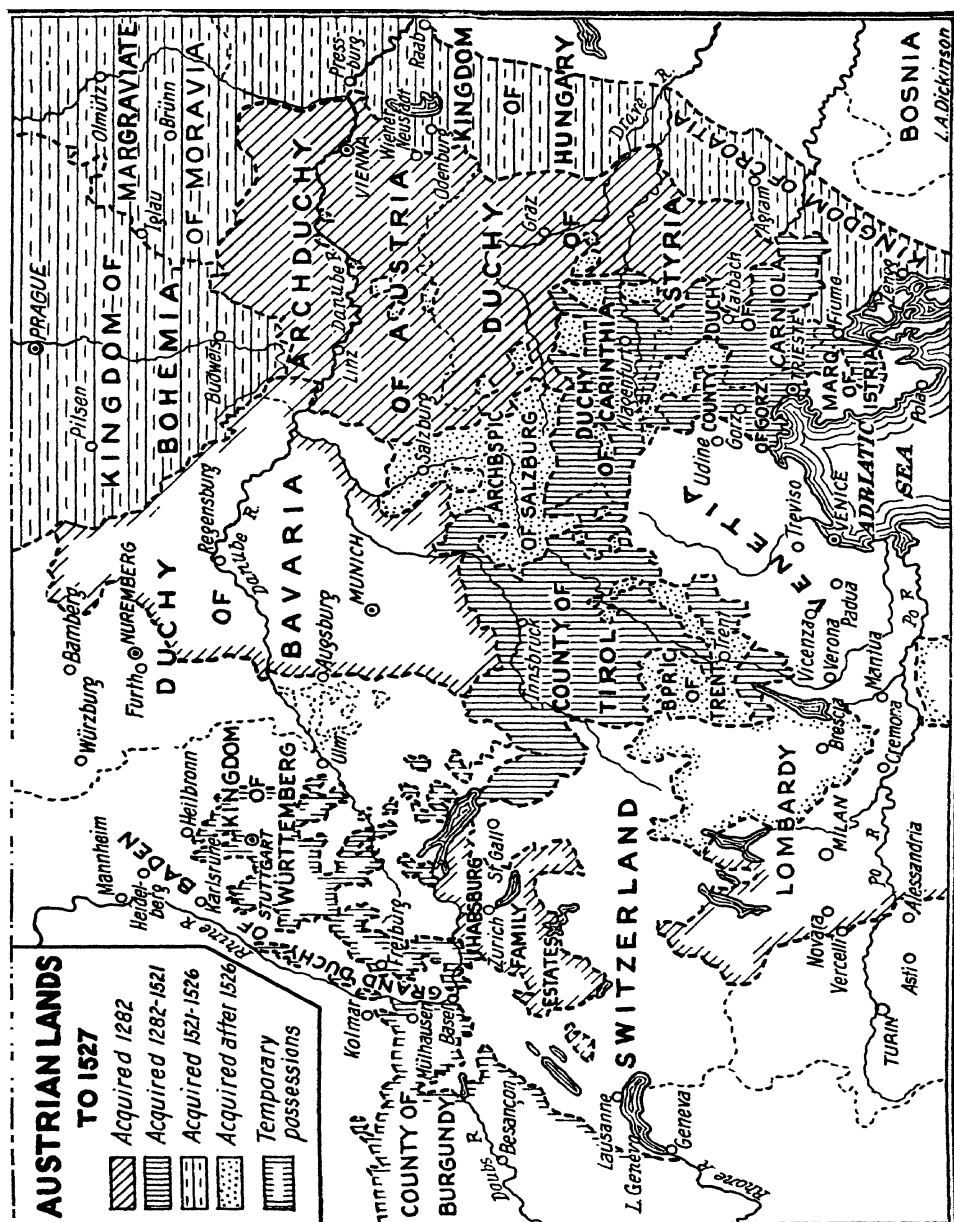
possessions. He arranged a curious treaty with Vladislav II of Bohemia and Hungary which after the death of both Maximilian and Vladislav, brought Bohemia and Hungary also under Habsburg rule. Until the end of the World War the Habsburgs ruled this curious polyglot kingdom in Central Europe.

Despite the common language and traditions, the old anarchy continued in Germany. There was an imperial court, but it had little authority and it moved about with the emperor as he pursued his own ends. There were more than three hundred separate principalities. The petty wars of the nobles harassed the countryside. The great cities followed their own gains and were attached to their own privileges. Efforts to bring about better order were doomed to failure because the creation of a centralized authority would have involved mutual concessions by all parties. The great prelates, the cities, the great nobles were all unwilling to yield any of their power and the innumerable petty knights, who largely made their livings by robbery and who were very fond of brawling for its own sake, were unwilling to be forced to settle down in peace and poverty.

To keep the route between Italy and Germany open, Frederick II in 1231 purchased the territory of Uri from its ecclesiastical lords and made it a free canton immediately dependent on the Empire. In 1240 the canton of Schwyz, which with Uri controlled the St. Gotthard Pass, was accorded the same privileges. This growth of free communities was resented by the Habsburgs, the greatest lords in the region and claimants to suzerainty over the cantons. To strengthen themselves, in 1291 the Forest Cantons—Uri, Schwyz and Unterwalden—formed the "Perpetual Pact," a kind of loose union for mutual defense. The emperors were quite willing to strengthen opposition to the Habsburgs and Henry VII confirmed the charters of Uri and Schwyz and extended a similar charter to Unterwalden in 1309. Particularly after the cantons had raided some of their territory, the Habsburgs resolved to crush them and were instead badly defeated at Mortgarten in 1315 and at Ampfing in 1322. The Swiss cities, increased in wealth and population like the other towns of Europe, were anxious to escape from the domination of the Habsburgs. Lucerne, Zürich, Glarus, Zug and Berne entered the Confederation, now of eight cantons. In 1361 Charles IV recognized it by an imperial charter. Then the Confederation defeated the Austrians decisively at Zempach in 1386 and Näfels

Formation of Switzerland

THE SWISS CONFEDERATION

in 1388 and obtained Austrian recognition of their immediate dependence upon the emperor.

The Swiss now took the offensive and in 1425 seized Aargau and later Thurgau. In the struggle between Louis XI and Charles the Bold of Burgundy, the Swiss took the part of Louis and defeated Charles at Granson and Morat in 1476 and again at Nancy, where Charles was killed, in 1477. Emperor Maximilian I made a final effort to assert a real control over the Swiss. He needed men and money for a war against the Turks and the Swiss had refused to pay taxes and had ignored the imperial courts. The Swiss defeated him decisively in 1499 and their practical independence of any claims of the Empire was established by the peace of Basel in 1501. William Tell has not been mentioned because he is a legendary, not an historic character.

Teutonic Knights in Prussia

The Germans had expanded to the east until they came to the Vistula river, where they stopped for seventy-five years. With the failure of the Crusades the Military Order of Teutonic Knights had nothing to do; in 1231 they started in to conquer and convert the heathen Preussen. By 1346 they had conquered the Baltic regions as far as the Gulf of Finland. As they conquered districts they built forts to use as bases for further conquests and to protect the German settlers who flocked in behind them. They were energetic builders of towns and by 1400 there were about fourteen hundred towns and one hundred cities in Prussia, many of which had charters of self-government. The Knights constructed roads and canals, made rivers navigable and erected dams and dikes. When Poland and Lithuania united in 1387 and the Lithuanians accepted Christianity, the Knights could hardly crusade against fellow Christians and the order began to decline. In 1410 the Poles defeated them in the battle of Tannenburg and by 1461 the Knights had lost all their once vast possessions except East Prussia, which they held as a Polish fief. The dissolution of the Order was practically complete when the Grand Master, Albert of Hohenzollern, received East Prussia as an hereditary duchy in 1525.

The Hanseatic League

The German merchants, to protect their commerce in the prevailing political instability, early formed themselves into associations. These groups of merchants, from many cities, founded trading associations or "hanses" abroad, the largest at London, Bruges and Wisby, in the Baltic island of Gotland. Lübeck and Hamburg had formed an alli-

ance in 1230; adjacent towns like Wismar, Rostock, Hamburg and Bremen also joined. Then other groups of cities found it helpful to join the league headed by Lübeck. About 1350 these associated cities united with the foreign hanses and the Hanseatic League arose. It demonstrated its strength by defeating King Waldemar of Denmark who had destroyed a Hanse fleet and by dictating the election of the next king of Denmark.

The Hanseatic League soon had about seventy cities as members and controlled the commerce of all northern Europe. It established "factories" or trading posts at Novgorod, Bergen, Bruges and London. At London and Bruges the traders conformed to the laws of the country, but in Russia and Scandinavia the League assumed political as well as commercial power. The League was formed to shut out competitors, to extend its own privileges and to protect its commerce from attacks. To this end the several cities taxed themselves to maintain a League fleet. So great was the power of the League that the greatest rulers of Europe were glad to be allied with it. It contributed very substantially to the progress of commerce and industry in northern Europe by building roads and canals. The League fell partly through its own arrogance. It refused to admit to its own cities traders from the foreign cities which admitted Hanse merchants and provoked animosities which led to war. As the foreign states where they had factories became stable the Hansards refused to abandon the privileges they had earlier assumed and again provoked hostility. Other factors in its decline were beyond its control. The League had always derived great profits from its herring fisheries in the Baltic and in the middle of the fifteenth century the herring for some mysterious reason forsook the Baltic for the North Sea. Moreover, with the simultaneous discovery of America and an all-sea route to India, European commerce was thrown abruptly out of its old channels, and the Hansards could not adjust themselves to the new commercial changes.

In the late Middle Ages the countries east of Germany were occupied by various barbaric, semi-agricultural and warlike peoples. After the Mongol invasion of 1240, Poland fell apart into many small *Poland* principalities and was unable to resist the aggressions of the German and other neighbors. Vladislav I (1306–33) successfully united much of the country and fought against the Teutonic Knights with some effectiveness. Casimir III the Great (1333–70) consolidated his king-

THE HANSEATIC LEAGUE

dom by wise exchanges of territory, warred successfully against the Lithuanians and is notable for having extended privileges to the Jews when elsewhere they were persecuted heartlessly. Louis the Great of Hungary (1370–82) then ruled Poland. His daughter Hedwig married Yagello, Prince of Lithuania, who became King of Poland as Vladislav II (1382–34). Following the example of their prince the Lithuanians embraced Christianity at this time. In 1410 Vladislav II defeated the Teutonic Knights decisively; Poland thereafter absorbed much of the territory held by the Knights and reached the Baltic.

The Bohemians or Czechs early developed both a hostility to the *Bohemia* Holy Roman Empire and that feeling of unity within their particular group we call nationalism. The Hussite controversy and the succeeding crusades declared against the Czechs intensified this spirit. At the end of the civil and religious wars a native Czech, George Podebrad (1458–71) was king, most of the colonizing Germans had been expelled and the Czechs had maintained themselves against both pope and emperor. At the end of the century Bohemia was joined with Hungary under the rule of the Yagellos of Poland.

The Hungarians or Magyars, like the Poles, were badly stricken *Hungary* by the Mongol invasion and were long in recovering. Louis I the Great (1342–82) asserted the royal power against the nobles and encouraged agriculture and commerce. His long wars with the Turks were continued unsuccessfully by Sigismund (1387–1437), whom we have seen as Holy Roman Emperor. Albert V, the first Habsburg to control Hungary, ruled for only a year and was succeeded by Vladislav III of Poland-Lithuania. Vladislav fell fighting against the Turks at the battle of Varna (1444). The reign of Vladislav the Posthumous, another Polish prince, was marked by the rise to power of John Hunyadi, who defeated the Turks so decisively at Belgrade in 1456 that for a time they made no further invasions of Europe. His son Matthias I Corvinus (1458–90) as the next king of Hungary continued Hunyadi's successful struggles with the Turks, and gave Hungary an excellent administration. But thereafter Hungary broke out into factional and peasant wars, and soon was unable to resist the continued attacks of the Turks and to maintain its independence.

The Mongol nomads of the steppes of Central Asia, only vaguely united, were made into something like an empire by Ghenghiz Khan in the first part of the thirteenth century. Ghenghiz decided to conquer

Ghenghiz Khan and the Mongol Invasion

the world and almost did so. His forces first conquered Turkestan from the kingdom of North China, then turned west and conquered the Turkish Empire of Kharezm. By 1223 the Mongols had swept to the river Don. Ghenghiz Khan died in 1226, but Mongol armies under his sons and grandsons continued to expand his empire in all directions. The Mongols soon invaded Russia and in 1240 they took the city of Kiev. The Kipchaks, a Turkish people, fled before them to Hungary, where they were welcomed. The Mongols were thereby infuriated, as they assumed that all Turkish people were their subjects, and launched a violent attack against the Hungarians. By 1241 their advance horsemen reached the Adriatic and Italy was faced with the prospect of another barbarian invasion. The frightened Europeans regarded the swarms of nomad cavalry as children of hell, and called them Tatars or Tartars from Tartarus, the reputed place of their origin. Another Mongol army overran Poland as far west as Silesia. In 1258 other armies captured Baghdad and later Aleppo and Damascus. Within a century the Mongols had subjugated a great portion of Asia and of Eastern Europe. The revived but feeble and feud-ridden Byzantine Empire was helpless before them and Western Europe was distracted by its internal wars.

Fortunately Ghenghiz Khan's ambition to conquer the world was qualified by his theory that only Mongols counted and he had instructed his sons not to bother about territories not inhabited by Mongols. After 1243 the armies therefore slowly evacuated Hungary and Poland and moved east to the frontiers of Russia. The Golden Horde, the western Mongol kingdom, retained control of Russia, however, until the end of the fifteenth century, when it disintegrated and various Russian princes struggled for power. Far to the east, Kubla Khan founded the Chinese Mongol dynasty and the Great Khan at Peking became a Chinese prince, with only the most distant relations with the Mongol rulers of Turkestan and Persia.

Rise of the Ottoman Turks

Within the old Seljuk Empire the Ottoman or Osman family rose to power in Asia Minor, and the greatest days of Moslem art in the East were ended. Under Arkhan (1326–59) the Ottomans made Brusa, across from Constantinople, their capital and conquered Nicaea, Bithynia and even part of Gallipoli. In 1361 they conquered Roumania and moved their capital to Adrianople. They now developed as part of their armies the famous Janissaries. Conquered Christians were

forced to give up their children and these, brought up as Moslems, were drilled into a terribly effective part of the Ottoman forces. In 1393 the Ottomans conquered Serbia and three years later they crushed a great army of veterans of the Hundred Years' War at Nicopolis.

Further Ottoman conquests were temporarily arrested by the irruption of another Mongol horde from Asia under Tamerlane. Tamerlane, who had succeeded the Emir of Khurasan in 1369, conceived the gigantic project of conquering all the Mongol dynasties that had grown out of the old Mongol Empire. In rapid succession and with unspeakable ferocity—for instance, he once imbedded 2000 rebellious soldiers in a pyramid of brick and mortar—he conquered all the territories between India, where he held Hindustan, and Hungary. The Byzantine Empire begged his assistance against the Ottoman Turks and Tamerlane seized Damascus and Baghdad, defeated and captured the Sultan Bajazet at Angora in 1402 and received the homage of Byzantium. He then returned to his capital, Samarkand, and was planning a great invasion of China when he died in 1405. His vast empire immediately collapsed. *Tamerlane*

The Ottomans recovered their power and at once resumed their attacks on Europe. They captured Salonika and encircled Constantinople itself more and more closely. The Christians were momentarily victorious at Belgrade in 1440 and under John Hunyadi at Kunobitza in 1443, but the next year the Turks overwhelmed an army of crusaders at Varna. For the time the Albanians resisted desperately under their national hero, Scanderbeg. The Byzantines had appealed for aid to the West, but the projected union of the Greek and Roman Churches collapsed and the West resumed its Hussite and Hundred Years' Wars. Sultan Mohammed II captured Constantinople on May 29, 1453. So ended the Byzantine Empire. *Fall of Constantinople*

The Turks continued their conquests in Europe by occupying Greece, Bosnia, Serbia and after the death of Scanderbeg and his son, Albania. A European congress was called at Regensburg to promote a crusade but nobody would come. The fact was that Europe could no longer be united for any concerted action. "Where is the mortal man," wrote a contemporary, "who can bring England into accord with France? Or Genoa with Aragon? Or conciliate the Germans, Hungarians, and Bohemians in their disputes. Let a great host set forth and

its internal enmities will destroy its organization. Behold a true picture of Christendom."

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CHAPTER XXX

THE RENAISSANCE

THE Gothic church was the magnificent communal work of art of the Middle Ages. Though other countries built great Gothic churches—Germany, England, Spain—we inevitably associate this architecture, as other medieval arts, with France. The great burst of artistic and intellectual activity which we call the Renaissance we associate with Italy. One critic with perhaps too much enthusiasm says, "At a time when English noblemen were loutish and ignorant boors, when the French noblesse scorned the ability to read and write as being beneath the dignity of a man of action, the aristocracy of Italy were avidly absorbing all the learning they could come by."

Italy had no political unity in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. *Lack of political unity in Italy* Southern Italy formed the kingdom of Naples. Central Italy was united in the States of the Church. Northern Italy was divided into rival principalities, for by this time the cities had lost their liberties. Out of the internal chaos of the cities had arisen in various ways absolute rulers of one sort or another. Venice indeed was an exception. *Venice* Venice was governed by a Grand Council of merchant-nobles and proprietors which in 1297 was restricted to members of certain families. The doge became largely a figure-head. In 1310, to meet an attempted uprising, the Grand Council created the Council of Ten, with extraordinary powers. Thereafter it practically controlled the city and was an efficient, if despotic governing body. The Genoese also had a doge and a council.

Whereas the feuds elsewhere in Europe were usually fought out in the countryside and at the expense of the peasantry, the Italian feuds were between families within the towns and were fought at the expense of the townspeople. Usually the feuds ended only when the cities fell into the hands of despots. In their interminable wars with each other the cities had employed mercenaries, *condottieri*. These *The condottieri* *condottieri*, though hired to fight each other, practically joined forces and their battles became farces in which no one was killed except by

accident. They soon found they could impose themselves upon their nominal masters and here and there they made themselves despots of cities. Sir John Hawkwood, commander of the White Company in France, crossed the Alps rather than face Du Guesclin, fought for and against the pope and finished his life as captain general of Florence. A despot might also arise when a member of a faction by a successful revolution managed to seize and hold power. More peaceably, the old elective officials might simply become permanent or even hereditary, and thus make themselves rulers. Like the council in Venice, the despots seem to have been capable rulers—they were indeed almost forced to be capable rulers. If they were cruel to our modern ways of thinking, so was their age, and frequently they needed to protect themselves against ambitious and equally cruel scions of the displaced families. The new despot did not usually destroy the former government, but imposed himself upon it and despotism became a new political development. The despot of the Italian cities was the first of the absolute monarchs and became a model for the later national monarchs.

Thus in 1227 the Visconti seized control of Milan when the archbishop of Milan imprisoned the rulers of the city and induced the emperor to appoint his nephew, Matteo Visconti, as his representative.

Visconti The Visconti ruled Milan for over two hundred and fifty years thereafter, until they died out. In 1450 the Milanese engaged a mercenary, Francesco Sforza, to fight the Venetians. Sforza defeated the Venetians and then made himself the despot of Milan. Florence was long gov-

Medici erned by the Medici family. Cosimo de' Medici, one of the great international bankers of Florence, led the popular faction in a successful up-rising against the burgher oligarchy in 1435. Though Cosimo scrupulously maintained the forms of the city government and though the Medici long avoided showing the appearance of their power, they were in fact the despots of the city. They were in this respect very exact counterparts of our American political bosses who, with no official positions themselves, yet dictate the election of officials and control the city governments. The Medici notably, but many other despots also, were generous patrons of the arts. They supported scholars, gave abundant commissions to the artists they assembled about them from all Europe and were tremendously influential in the Renaissance. Their names are inseparably remembered with those of the great artists they loved to encourage.

Dante was the last great medieval man, and scholasticism had exhausted itself in its subtleties. Men turned away from abstract reason to an interest in the world about them, and Dante's younger contemporary and fellow-Florentine, Petrarch (1304–75), was the first great *Petrarch* man of the Renaissance. Medieval men like Dante knew and read the Latin writers who were so worshiped in the Renaissance, but they read these Latin poets for their substance and wisdom rather than for

ITALY
IN THE XVᵀᴴ CENTURY

their rhetorical form, and would never have thought of centering an education about them. Petrarch fell in love with the sound of Cicero's orations before he could understand them, studied Latin with zeal and wrote mostly in a Latin as much like Cicero's as he could make it. He collected Latin manuscripts, made accurate copies of those he found in the libraries of others and compared manuscripts to make more accurate texts. He was an enthusiastic archæologist and collected Roman

medals and coins. He was remarkably able to stimulate in others the same zest he found in the study of the classics, maintained a prodigious correspondence with scholars throughout Europe and became an international figure like Voltaire after him. We today are more interested in the Italian sonnets he wrote in his youth and later deprecated, than in his Latin epics on classical subjects. Petrarch's most lasting influence has been upon education. He greatly helped to discredit medieval scholasticism and to him and later humanists we owe the central position of Latin and Greek in modern education.

Boccaccio   Boccaccio (1313–75), another Florentine, is commonly associated with Petrarch as an early humanist. A layman, he studied canon law, gave it up in disgust and turned to literature. Like Petrarch he collected manuscripts eagerly and helped to make the thirst for learning fashionable. Dante founded Italian poetry; Boccaccio wrote in Italian prose the *Decameron*. Using neither complicated allegories nor symbols, he wrote practically a series of short stories largely satirizing the corrupt clergy. He too turned his attention from the invisible world to this present world. Petrarch knew no Greek; Boccaccio boasted that he was the first Tuscan who had learned it.

The interest in Greek   Shortly after Petrarch's death Chrysolorus came from Constantinople to teach Greek in Florence. In 1423 one Italian alone brought home to Venice two hundred and thirty-eight Greek books. After the fall of Constantinople many other scholars came to Italy to teach Greek. Students once had crowded about Abélard as he disputed of universals. Now they poured into the universities to learn to read Homer in the original Greek. Men of one age are usually contemptuous of their immediate predecessors and the new man of the Renaissance, casting

Classical spirit   back to the classics for inspiration, thought his medieval ancestor a poor fellow overly given to a hair-splitting logic about nothing. He thought himself to be, not a Florentine in love with the classics, but an ancient Roman or Athenian reborn in Florence. Hence the name Renaissance and hence the profound inconsistency of the period. It paid lip-service to Christianity and was in love with the pagan classics, and it could never quite reconcile these two contradictions.

The man of the Renaissance was not of course an Athenian or a Roman, but intensely himself. He was, in modern phrase, interested to

The "universal man"   express himself and he began many modern values in so doing. In 1335 Petrarch climbed Mont Ventaux in France for the fun of the experi-

ence. After his study of the classics the Renaissance man called himself a "humanist." He caught from the Greeks a vision of the possibility of a many-sided culture and set out to make himself a kind of universal man, *uomo universale*, skilled in everything, and he succeeded amazingly. Leon Battista Alberti was a good painter, sculptor, musician and architect. In Latin and Greek he wrote defenses of Christianity and treatises on optics, mechanics, sculpture and domestic life. With feet together he could spring over a man's head. He could throw coins and shoot arrows farther and more accurately than any one else and he could tame the most fiery horses by a touch of his hand. As we run over the list of Renaissance men we find that this versatility is a distinguishing mark. They cultivated all the beauties save one: as their great genius Michelangelo lamented, they could not see the beauty of holiness. Side by side with their intense cultivation of beauty in so many forms was the most astonishing cruelty and licentiousness. In fairness to them we ought to add that they cultivated courteous manners and a sprightly wit, and that they were not guilty of intemperate vices as gross gluttony and drunkenness because these were offensive to good taste. And the Renaissance had its own democracy: as men of talent could enter the Church and be recognized by princes, so in the Renaissance men of artistic ability were recognized everywhere and indeed enthusiastically sought after by the great rulers.

The training of the artist indicated the many-sidedness of the time. *Training* Art was nothing esoteric or out of the way but a recognized craft, *of the artist* almost a business. A promising boy was apprenticed to an artist "to learn to draw, to grind colors, to paint, to model in wax and clay, to master the technique of *repoussé* and the secrets of bronze casting and chasing, to carve wood and inlay it, decorate and gild it, and to learn the principles of mechanics and the elements of architecture." As individual talents later showed themselves, the artist would cultivate them more particularly.

Italy was never able to understand Gothic architecture. Except in Lombardy, where northern influence was strongest, even the pointed arch was not completely adopted and the basilica remained the popular style. One critic has said of the cathedral of Milan, "It is so un-Gothic *Italian* in its vesture of white marble, so ungainly without, sprawling like a *never* fat man under a coverlet of lace." The reasons for this indifference to *became Gothic* Gothic are not hard to find. All about them the Italians saw remains

of the great Roman baths, arches, aqueducts and amphitheatres. Commercial relations with Constantinople brought them in constant contact with Byzantine art and so, if very indirectly, with at least a little of ancient Greek art. Their very language reminded them of the ancient Latin culture. Perhaps we cannot quite say that as the Renaissance man had no inner principle of control over his many faculties, as he could not see the beauty of holiness, so he had no great sense of organic structure in his architecture. Perhaps his very training fostered a wealth of invention in detail instead of this sense of structure. But whereas the Gothic church was so completely organic, the Renaissance façade frequently concealed the true structure of the building behind it. "No one would guess, from the façade of the Farnese Palace, in which three stories of windows are carried across and around the building, that there is a vast room occupying the two upper stories on the left side of the principal front."

Words are such poor media for describing works of art that, as the student ought to study Gothic art in the profusely illustrated manuals which are available, so also he ought to study Renaissance art. Of the many great Renaissance artists before 1500 we can only mention a few. Those men who did their greatest work after 1500, the limit of this book, we shall have to pass by. Filippo Brunelleschi (1379–1446), a Florentine, began as a sculptor and then turned to architecture. He went to Rome and studied the ancient buildings there with the same fervor that the humanists had for their study of classical manuscripts. On his return to Florence he won permission to construct the dome of the unfinished cathedral. He drew plans for a dome 139½ feet in internal diameter which was begun in 1420 and completed in 1461. Other masterpieces he conceived were the Pazzi Chapel and the great Pitti Palace, begun for a rival of the Medici and finally completed and purchased by the Medici.

Brunelleschi

Ghiberti

Lorenzo Ghiberti (1378–1445), another Florentine, was taught by his foster-father, a goldsmith. The Merchants' Gild planned to give two bronze doors to the baptistry and Ghiberti's design won in the open competition. His doors were so pleasing that he was at once commissioned to do two more, and the "Gates of Paradise" resulted. Some of the panels in these doors contain as many as one hundred figures and have backgrounds of landscapes or buildings, and the whole concep-

tion was made possible only by Ghiberti's extraordinary technique. Ghiberti was also a fine architect.

Donatello (1386–1466), a Florentine, assisted Ghiberti in the mak- *Donatello*
ing of the baptistry panels, and later became the greatest sculptor of the day. We customarily say that with him modern sculpture began. Donatello was most concerned to depict character or dramatic action rather than beauty alone. Accordingly the stone of his very numerous statues seems almost to have life in it.

Renaissance painters were even more numerous than the architects and we can give them only the politest of bows. Giotto's influence was so great that for half a century the Florentine artists simply imitated him. Then Masolino and his greater pupil Masaccio, impressed by the *Painters of th*
sculpture of Donatello, broke away from the tradition of Giotto and *Renaissance*
began the great line of naturalistic Renaissance painters. Fra Angelico, an inspired mystic, continued to paint in the Giottesque manner, but shortly in most of the other artists "the medieval traits disappear before the scientific spirit and the desire only to interest and to please." "In Florence, as the century advanced, the contradictory traits of the Renaissance—Christian piety and Paganism, high thought and sensuality, the love of beauty and the interest in reality—become ever more apparent. The work of Botticelli is an example. His Madonnas and Venuses are painted with the same ecstatic interest and have the same subtle, troubling beauty and unexplainable melancholy."

Though some of their great works were created before 1500, just beyond our boundary are Leonardo da Vinci, a Florentine sculptor, architect, engineer, scientist and painter; Michelangelo, Florentine poet, sculptor, architect and painter; Raphael, from Urbino and later of Florence, painter whose art "seems at times almost to solve the haunting problem of the Renaissance—the harmonizing of the contrary ideals of Paganism and Christianity."

Lorenzo de' Medici, the Magnificent, made Florence the artistic center of Europe. After his death in 1492 a stern Dominican, Savon- *Savonarola*
arola, alarmed the Florentines by threats of divine punishment for their sins. The invasion of Charles VIII of France convinced them that the friar was right and they rushed to expel Lorenzo's sons and to sack the Medici palace and made Savonarola one of their new rulers. They submitted enthusiastically to Savonarola's puritanical régime and made a huge bonfire of all their "vanities." Then, weary of his disci-

pline, they deserted him and soon Savonarola, tried and condemned as a heretic, was burned in a bonfire of another sort. Thereafter, under the patronage of the popes, Rome became the artistic center of Europe. Charles VIII, entering Italy in 1494 to conquer Naples, brought back to France with him Italian artists and workers and so began the contact of France with Italy which produced in the sixteenth century a Renaissance in French art.

Practical nature of Renaissance thought

The tendency of Italian thought in the Renaissance was practical, not theoretical. Machiavelli was not a political theorist. He had served under Cesare Borgia, an expert in ruthless politics, observed acutely and in *The Prince* and *Discourses* reported accurately what he saw and deduced therefrom the maxims which should guide an efficient political leader. His critical attitude as displayed in his histories seems very modern. With the great economic development of the cities, the Italians devised the institutions of credit, insurance, negotiable instruments and forms of partnership like the joint-stock company. Classical scholarship greatly improved the accuracy of the texts and of the historical knowledge of antiquity. The Italians applied their chemistry to dyeing and botany, to gardening and medicine. In Germany, however, two men in particular continued the tradition of pure scientific work. Nicholas of Cusa (1401–64) studied deep-water pressures, discovered the movement of the earth on its axis and foreshadowed the law of inertia. Regiomontanus (1436–70) introduced the sine and cosine as mathematical functions and compiled astronomical tables which greatly improved upon earlier Spanish tables. Columbus, Vasco da Gama and Magellan each had a copy of these tables in his charthouse on his great voyages. The mariner's compass, known earlier, now came into general use. The use of gunpowder was increased, though its importance at this date has been greatly exaggerated and for two hundred years after its invention the art of war was hardly changed.

Invention of printing

The greatest invention of the Renaissance was, of course, that of movable metal type. Printing of playing cards, calicoes and block books foreshadowed the true invention of movable type. As hitherto books had been copied by hand, they were full of errors, expensive and even money could not buy many of them. At the order of Cosimo de' Medici forty-five copyists worked for nearly two years and turned out only two hundred books. Though Gutenberg has been frequently credited with

the invention of movable type about 1455, the invention was probably known earlier and was kept secret for fear of the opposition of copyists and manuscript dealers who would be thereby thrown out of employment. But the invention became known, presses were soon established all over Europe and a revolution was begun of which we do not yet see the end. The printed books had uniform texts, they were so inexpensive that book dealers thought there must be magic in their manufacture and they could be published with great rapidity. Before 1500 over eight million books had been printed and the modern world was well on its way. The most famous press in Europe was that of Aldus Manutius in Venice. He printed Greek and Latin grammars, dictionaries and texts and laboriously edited and proof-read them himself, and then painstakingly made the scholars of all Europe aware that such books were available. The influence of these beautifully printed Aldine texts can hardly be estimated. As his publisher's mark or colophon, Aldus used the anchor and dolphin we now see on many American books.

The Crusades had stimulated the curiosity and luxurious tastes of the West and missionary and commercial expeditions were made very *Early ex-* early. In 1245 Innocent IV sent Carpini, a Franciscan, to Karakorum *plorations* in hope that the Mongols would join forces with the Christians against Islam; in 1253 Louis IX of France sent the Franciscan, Rubruck, on a similar mission and the *Relations* of these men describing their experiences excited the interest of Europe. Venetian merchants, Nicolò and Matteo Polo, went to the Crimea about 1250 and thence to China, where they were received by the khan, and returned to Venice. In 1271, with Nicolò's son Marco, they again left Venice, crossed Asia and were received with great honors by Kubla Khan. Marco even entered the khan's service as a provincial administrator and traveled widely in the East. The Venetians at last became anxious to return; unwillingly the khan let them depart and they reached Venice in 1295. Marco dictated in French *The Book of Marco Polo*, which was translated into many languages and was for centuries all that Europe knew of the Far East, but it maintained European curiosity about new lands and new men.

The tremendous upheavals in Asia had deranged the trade routes and traders sought to find a new route to the Far East. The route by way of the Mediterranean and the Red Sea or Persian Gulf involved

expensive reloadings of cargoes and the payment of heavy duties, and it too was unsatisfactory. Europe wanted an all-water route to the East.

Portuguese explorations

Early in the fourteenth century the Venetians and Genoese sent fleets directly to Flanders which touched at Lisbon on the way. The Portuguese soon were active in commerce and rivaled the Italians in the work of discovery. In 1312 a Genoese captain discovered the Canary Islands and in 1341 the Portuguese occupied them. The Azores, eight hundred and fifty miles west of Portugal, were indicated on medieval Arabian maps and on an Italian map of 1351. The Portuguese again touched the Canary Islands in 1402 and the Madeira Islands in 1420 and placed settlements there. Prince Henry

Prince Henry the Navigator

the Navigator (1394–1460) of Portugal, was present at the conquest of Ceuta in Africa by Portugal. He was anxious to learn more of the continent where Portugal had just established a foothold and where converts could be made for the Church and profitable commercial relations might be established as well. At Sagres he established an astronomical observatory and a school of navigation for sons of Portuguese nobles. Here he gathered all the cartographic and other scientific knowledge available and organized expeditions of discovery. Successive Portuguese and Genoese expeditions pushed farther and farther down the coast of Africa and reached Porto Santo in 1418, Cape Blanco in 1440, Cape Bojador in 1443. The Cape Verde Islands were discovered in 1441.

After the death of Prince Henry the explorations still continued, and the Portuguese were soon enriching themselves from a lively trade in ivory and slaves. The mouth of the Congo was passed in 1484. Bartholomew Diaz, a captain who had already been in the slave trade of the west coast of Africa, was commissioned to sail around

Rounding of the Cape of Good Hope

Africa. In 1486 he passed the Cape of Good Hope, sailed east and north to make sure that he had rounded the continent and returned. Vasco da Gama sailed from Lisbon in 1497, rounded the Cape of Good Hope, reached present Natal in 1498, obtained a pilot and then sailed across the Indian Ocean to Calicut. He took on a cargo of spices and precious stones and returned to Lisbon after an absence of more than two years. With an all-water route to India, the Portuguese almost immediately replaced the Venetians in the trade with the East and as the great naval power of Europe.

In the interval between the Portuguese voyages of 1486 and 1498,

MEDIEVAL TRADE ROUTES
AND
ROUTES OF THE EXPLORERS
TO END OF 15TH CENTURY
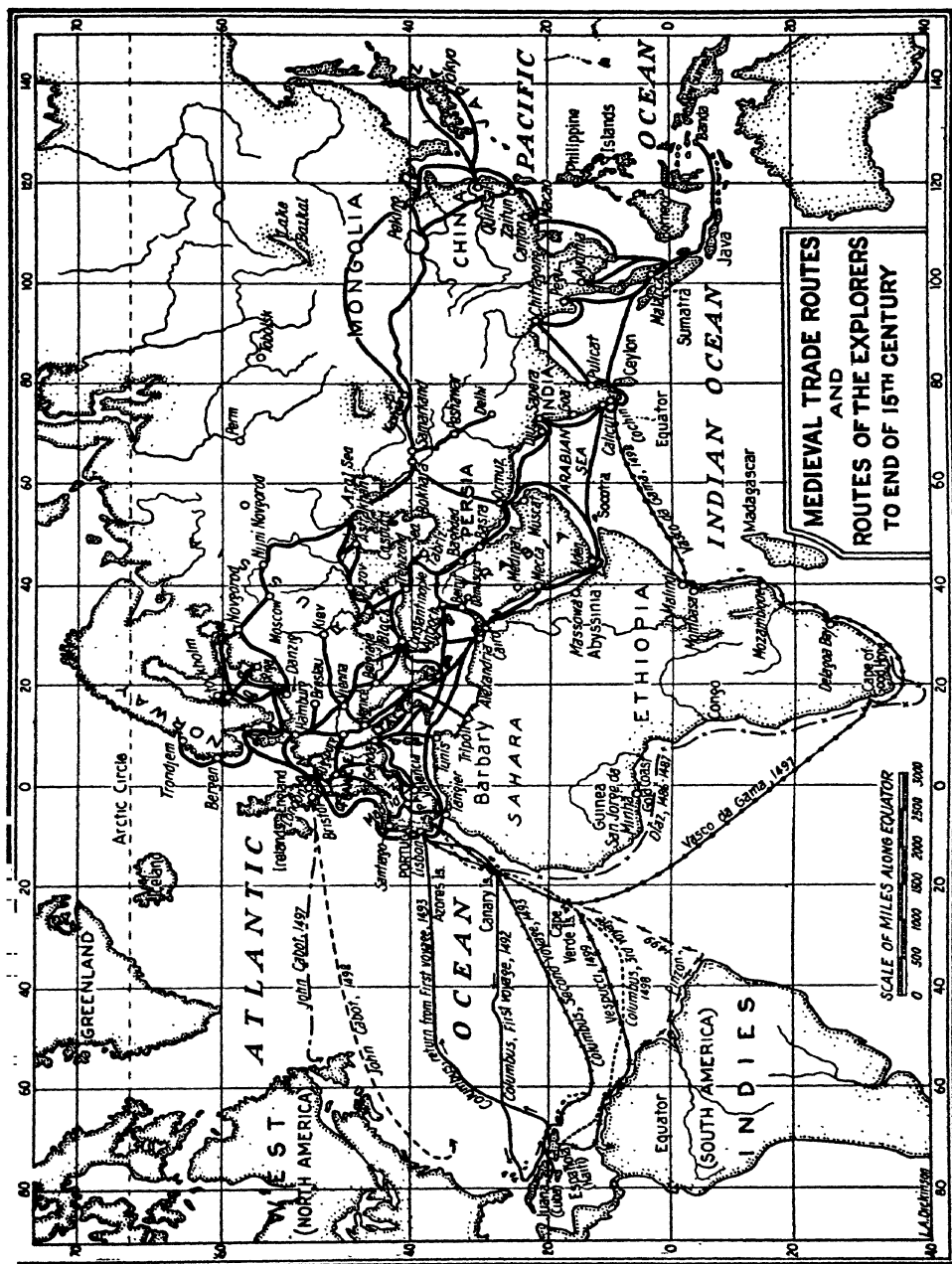
Columbus   as the world knows, Columbus made the most momentous voyage and the greatest discovery known to history. Within the past few years new evidence has been brought to light which provides us with new information about Columbus. For some time he was employed by the great Genoese mercantile firm of the Centurioni as a sugar buyer in the Portuguese islands off of Africa—the Azores, Cape Verde and Madeira Islands. Here he was brought into contact with Portuguese and Spanish merchants and sea-captains, from whom he picked up vague information that Portuguese navigators had found a great island lying west of Ireland in 1489—this was Newfoundland—and also another great island called Antillia in the southwestern Atlantic even earlier, in 1482. This intimation of a great unknown continent—or at least great islands—across the Atlantic was Columbus's first clue. The imparter of this amazing information was a Spanish captain whom Columbus had met, named Martin Alonzo Pinzon. It does not detract from Columbus's reputation to say that Pinzon divides honors with him in the eventful discovery which was made in 1492.

The Portuguese, for good reasons, tried to keep this information to themselves lest Spain or England attempt to over-reach them. But Pinzon shrewdly surmised that the pope must certainly have been informed about these strange and distant islands. Accordingly he went to Rome—this was in 1491—and there found a book and a map. The book was Pierre d'Ailly's *Imago mundi,* written early in the fifteenth century, a copy of which, printed at Louvain in 1483, Pinzon acquired, and gave to Columbus. That identical copy, copiously annotated in Columbus's handwriting is today one of the treasures of the Columbian Library in Seville. The *Imago mundi* amassed all the evidence of the time in support of the hypothesis that the Far East might be reached by sailing due westward. But of far greater significance was the sketch map which Pinzon found in Rome and of which he made a copy. For on it "certain islands were painted." This explains for the first time Columbus's allusion in his log-book on September 25, 1492, to the "new chart" which he says he intended to make. Sixteen days later land was sighted.

In the face of this new evidence Columbus appears rather as a promoter of the enterprise which culminated in the discovery of America, for it was he who secured the financial support of the Spanish sovereigns, and Pinzon, as the practical yet daring navigator, who fur-

nished the idea and provided the technical cartographic and nautical skill required for so daring a voyage. For Pinzon was captain of the Pinta one of the three caravels in which Columbus sailed from Palos on August 3, 1492.

The events proved that Portugal had sound reason to fear Spanish and English competition in the search for new lands. In 1498 Sebastian Cabot, in the service of Henry VII of England, rediscovered New- *Cabot* foundland and coasted along the northeast shore of America searching for a sea route to the Far East outside the sphere of Spain's claims. In 1519 Magellan sailed west from Seville with a fleet of five ships. In *Magellan* 1521 he was killed on the Philippine Island of Mactan. His ships were lost, save one. In 1522 that one ship again dropped anchor in the Guadalquivir River and the globe had been circumnavigated.

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CHAPTER XXXI

THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGES

A T the end of the fifteenth century medieval Europe ha largely disappeared. The Church was still powerful, but i greatest authority was gone. The *literati* despised the crabbe Latin of the scholastics and were indifferent to their metaphysic The solid bourgeoisie were offended by the corruption of the clerg The Renaissance popes were not interested in the reforms so de perately needed. Though they maintained papal claims they wer forced more and more to compromise with the new national mor archs in practice, and the most devout monarchs began to prohibi the publication of papal bulls without their permission.

The once independent feudal nobility of the new national state had been crushed and made subordinate to the central monarchies Many of the old families who traced their lineage to the days befor the Crusades had died out. With the disappearance of feudal privi leges many of the remaining families had become impoverished Almost none of them could compete in wealth with the new bourgeoisie of the cities. The bourgeoisie became more and more powerful, as the kings selected their ministers from among them conferred patents of nobility upon them and promoted their welfare by domestic legislation and by foreign treaties.

With varying success the kings tried to make themselves independent of the old feudal dues by establishing permanent taxes like the taille. Only petty feudal taxes remained local. With the assured income of permanent taxes the kings were no longer dependent upon the uncertain and fluctuating feudal armies; they could maintain standing armies large enough to intimidate the most powerful of their nobles. They soon had deprived the nobles, perhaps with some struggle, of their rights to maintain their own armies and to coin their own money. The study of the Roman law again promoted absolutism, but now of the monarchs rather than of the papacy. The

model of the Italian despotisms and the prospect of seizing territory in Italy were always before the minds of the kings. Such, with local variations, was the Europe of 1500.

The political unity of Italy was impossible. The states of the north maintained their independence, too jealous of one another to unite their forces. In a desperate war at the end of the fourteenth century *Italy in* Venice defeated her great trade rival, Genoa. To assure her food *fifteenth* supply she incorporated into the Republic various provinces on the *century* mainland north and west, past Verona almost to Milan, and became the strongest power in northern Italy. Her colonies in the *The Italian* Levant brought her into the path of Turkish expansion. After the *cities* fall of Constantinople, Venice was forced to fight the Turks single-handed and lost many of these colonies. Though she retained her territories along the Adriatic coast and in 1488 acquired Cyprus, and so seemed as strong as ever, the Portuguese soon captured a large share of the enormously profitable trade with the East and the Dutch competed successfully in the European carrying-trade. Nevertheless Venice was a very long time dying. Milan, formerly under the Visconti, was ruled by the Sforza from 1450 to 1500, when the French captured the city. After expelling the sons of Lorenzo de' Medici, Florence submitted to the French under Charles VIII. Savonarola persuaded the French to leave the city and ruled the city until he too was deposed and burned as a heretic. Genoa, after its defeat by Venice, suffered from such factional disturbances that in 1464 it passed under the rule of the Visconti. Like Milan, Genoa was captured by the French just at the end of the century.

The papal states were even more chaotic than the north of Italy. The necessity for frequent papal elections kept the factional spirit intense; and though Rome was practically supported by the papal *The papal* court, in the presence of the Roman nobles and populace the pope *states and* was frequently almost powerless in the city itself. The popes con- *the south* tinued to prefer to advance their family interests rather than to build up a strong papal state, and in Italy itself acted very much like any other of the turbulent princes. In 1442 the Aragonese gained control of Lower Italy. The united Kingdom of Naples and Sicily was still largely feudal and in other ways not so advanced as the northern states. Nevertheless the territories were bitterly scrambled for; the French kings never forgot their vague claims to the lands and

the Aragonese continued to interfere in Italy to build up their own power.

Spain, long divided into the two main kingdoms of Aragon and Castile, was united when Isabella ascended the throne of Castile in 1474 and married Ferdinand the King of Aragon in 1479. The war upon the prosperous Moorish kingdom of Granada in the south was resumed in 1482. Ten years later, after desperate resistance and desperate attacks, the Moorish rule of even this much of the peninsula was ended. The kingdom of Aragon had become stable, but the kingdom of Castile, though nominally under Isabella, was far

from united. The long wars with the Moors had created great and wealthy military orders and a powerful nobility, lay and ecclesiatical, who were proud and turbulent. In addition, the Castilian cities possessed extensive franchises. For many years there was great disorder in Castile.

Isabella vigorously suppressed the nobles. Within the towns, for mutual protection, the citizens had long since formed brotherhoods, *hermandades*. Isabella induced these town forces to unite in a general *hermandad* for the maintenance of order within the kingdom. Thus

she obtained a permanent police force of two thousand men to patrol the roads and quell local insurrections. The king and queen managed to obtain control of most of the ecclesiastical appointments and also instituted several new councils to supplement the Cortes. Usually they appointed to office both in the Church and the councils, men of the bourgeoisie or lower nobility. Knowing that they owed their positions not to their birth but to their sovereigns, and usually trained in the Roman law, these officials eagerly promoted royal power, and were effective instruments in the hands of the king and queen. The crown also assumed the masterships of the great military orders of Santiago, Alcantara and Calatrava and so increased its revenues and removed another threat to its power.

The Inquisition was revived and under the notorious Torquemada was made practically an instrument of political control. The Jews were expelled, but numbers of them, to protect their property, remained and embraced Christianity. Many Moors also had ostensibly become Christian for the same reason. The Inquisition suspected the sincerity of these conversions, and accordingly great numbers of them were burned at the stake. The *auto-da-fé* became a popular kind of

holiday. The Inquisition was used not only to suppress heresy, as Isabella and Ferdinand were both ardent Catholics, but also to secure political uniformity.

The expulsion and persecution of the Jews removed from Spain many of its best merchants and commerce was disrupted. But by es- *Commerce* tablishing order within the kingdoms the monarchs greatly improved the lot of the peasantry. Customs barriers to trade between the kingdoms were abolished, the coinage was improved, and the administration of the royal finances was reformed. The towns were favored and trade flourished as never before, in spite of the absence of the Jews. Spain had not exploited its mineral resources, but with the income from the gold and silver mines of America, which were royal properties, the crown became very wealthy. A true and influential bourgeoisie, however, never really developed in Spain. As in France, the crown established a permanent army.

Ferdinand was more actively interested in foreign policy than Isabella. He endeavored to gain control of the Mediterranean and to check French influence in Sicily and the Kingdom of Naples. He made marriage alliances with Portugal, the Habsburgs and England, for the purpose of "encircling" France, which was finally forced to recognize his claims in Italy. His alliance with Portugal never brought that kingdom under his control, but shortly after the death of Isabella, Ferdinand became king of Castile and ruled a united Spain with a total population of about nine million people.

Though John I of Portugal foiled the attempts of Castile to seize *Portugal* his kingdom, and though in 1415 he acquired Ceuta in North Africa *becomes a* and later about half of Morocco, more important events of his reign *great sea-* were the explorations encouraged by his son, Prince Henry the *power* Navigator. Portuguese explorations continued after the death of John and his son; and just at the close of the century, by the pope's line of demarcation, Portugal acquired in 1493 the vast territory of Brazil, and by Vasco da Gama's voyage to India in 1498 an all-sea route to the East and with it a great share in the enormously profitable trade hitherto held by the Italian cities. At once Portugal ceased to be a minor power, and though her position as a first-class power was very short-lived, for the next half century Portugal was one of the strongest kingdoms in Europe.

The accession of the first Tudor, Henry VII, to the throne of Eng-

land brought relief at once from the confused Wars of the Roses. Many of the noble families had been destroyed and despite pretenders to the throne who made him trouble until he executed two of them in 1499, Henry VII soon effectively asserted the royal authority. English commerce and industry was still undeveloped. The country had a population of perhaps five million. Henry VII wisely refrained from further attempts to conquer part of France and made peace with Scotland by marrying his eldest daughter to James IV. He also married his son Arthur to Catherine of Aragon, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, and on Arthur's early death betrothed Henry, his second son, to Catherine. Thus, by aligning himself with a strong European power opposed to France, Henry VII began the famous English practice of trying to maintain a balance of power on the continent.

Henry chose many of his advisers and officials from among the bourgeoisie to decrease the influence of the nobility. Though the nobles were forbidden to maintain private military forces, the courts were powerless to enforce the laws, and the country was in a state of great disorder. Henry instituted the Court of Star Chamber, gave it power to accuse and convict without a jury trial and soon many still unruly nobles had been done away with. Henry also established a standing army and so further strengthened his power over the nobility. Though he was unable to do away with Parliament, Henry VII called it as seldom as he could. In the last thirteen years of his reign Parliament met but once. He governed largely through the Privy Council of bourgeois and clerical advisers and depended for money upon the ability of his officials to extort forced loans and gifts of money, "benevolences," from the wealthy. He was also enabled to recover from many nobles property which had once belonged to the crown and which the crown had not been able to hold. He made sure that these moneys found their way to the royal purse and was frugal enough to save a great deal of it. On his death the English crown was rich.

Henry VII not only helped commerce by enforcing order within the kingdom, but he actively aided it in his foreign relations. He made a treaty with Flanders to renew the wool trade from which both countries had profited. English traders were penetrating the Mediterranean and were suffering from duties imposed on them by the

Venetians. Henry VII retaliated by making a favorable treaty with Florence and so brought about the repeal of the Venetian duties. He issued a patent to the Merchant Adventurers in rivalry of the Hanseatic League and negotiated a treaty with Denmark which gave the English valuable fishing and trading rights. He attempted to aid the growth of English power on the sea by restricting the carriage of specified goods to English vessels.

Louis XI (1461–83) of France was not an imposing figure, with *Louis XI* thin rickety legs, crooked nose, mean dress and felt hat with a ring *of France* of leaden saints above the rim. But he had a great deal of ability and he had behind him the standing army. He early attempted to seize his father's throne and at the time he became king was living under the protection of Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy. Though he had conspired with the great nobles against his father, once he became king himself Louis XI asserted his royal power very vigorously against them. Philip's son Charles, later called the Bold, organized *Rebellion* the League of the Public Weal against Louis XI. The members of the League professed great sympathy for the oppressed bourgeoisie and peasants, but actually they were simply attempting to defend their feudal rights against the king. Charles the Bold defeated Louis at Montlhéry in 1465. Nevertheless, by shrewd grants of territory Louis managed to dissolve the League. He gave Normandy to his disgruntled brother, the Duke of Berri, and yielded Boulogne and Péronne to Charles.

In 1467 Philip the Good died and Charles the Bold became duke of Burgundy. Burgundy was now one of the most powerful principalities in Europe, far richer than England or such kingdoms as Portugal or Scotland. By this time the dukes of Burgundy had added Luxemburg and Holland to their other territories and as they were strong and vigorous administrators, their possessions were orderly *Philip of* and prosperous, and all of the enormous wealth of the Low Coun- *Burgundy* tries poured into their treasury. On his marriage to a Portuguese princess Philip the Good had founded one of the most celebrated orders in Europe, the Order of the Golden Fleece, symbolic of the main source of the wealth of Flanders. Philip used some of his vast revenues in a generous patronage of the arts and his court was the most brilliant of the day. But the great dukedom was split in two parts by the intervening territory of Lorraine. Tremendously energetic and

ambitious and already hostile to Louis XI, Charles the Bold conceived the plan of creating a great state in Central Europe which would unite the territories between the Alps and the sea.

Louis XI, who had yielded before the superior force of the League of the Public Weal, immediately set about regaining the lands he had ceded. He recovered Normandy while his brother was bickering with the duke of Brittany. Then he was careless for almost the only time of his life. He urged the citizens of Péronne to revolt against Charles and soon afterward set out unthinkingly with a small retinue to interview him, with the hope of persuading him to yield to the royal claims. Louis was at Charles's court when Charles learned of his treachery, and was for a time in danger of his life from the duke's fury and was forced to give Champagne to the duke of Berri in place of Normandy. Louis XI almost at once persuaded his brother to accept Guienne instead of Champagne and so put a safe distance between his two opponents. In 1472 Berri died, fortunately for Louis, as war with Burgundy was resumed the same year. Charles the Bold advanced from the north and ravaged the Somme valley as he moved toward Paris. He was finally repulsed at Beauvais, forty miles from his goal, and agreed to a truce which was practically a defeat.

Charles the Bold

Louis then one by one picked off many of his old enemies of the League, and many others died. The English claims to the French throne had never been formally renounced and in 1475 Edward IV of England, as Charles the Bold's ally, landed at Calais with a great army. Louis XI interviewed him in person, bought him off with 75,000 gold crowns and the promise of 50,000 crowns a year for life. Edward IV sailed back to England and again Charles was disappointed in an ally. Meanwhile Charles had taken over the duchy of Lorraine when the duke died without an heir. But the duke he appointed rebelled; and he had been bitterly disappointed by his failure to induce the Habsburg Emperor Frederick III of whom he held many fiefs, to make him a king. Finally, Louis XI's persuasive abilities induced the Swiss to take his part and Charles invaded Switzerland, as part of his plan to round out his possessions. In 1476 the Swiss defeated him decisively at Granson and again at Morat, where he lost most of his army either at the hands of the Swiss or by drowning in the lake. Despite his two defeats Charles gathered another army and prepared to attack Nancy. Louis XI sent troops

and the Swiss also marched to the aid of the city. In 1477 Charles was killed before the walls of Nancy and his naked body was found in a frozen ditch. So ended the last great feudal resistance to the power of the French crown.

Louis XI's attempts to seize the Burgundian possessions were resisted by Maximilian, who married the daughter of Charles the Bold. In 1482 a treaty was finally arranged whereby Louis's son should marry Maximilian's daughter and the French crown should obtain as her dowry the counties of Picardy and Artois in the north and the duchy of Burgundy. In 1480 another of Louis's old enemies of the League, the duke of Anjou, died; the next year his nephew also died and the great lands of the house of Anjou—Anjou and Maine, and Provence far to the south—fell to the crown. At his death Louis XI had incorporated into the kingdom practically all the lands of modern France except Brittany and the county of Burgundy.

In spite of almost constant war Louis XI yet had time to promote the welfare of his kingdom. He called merchants to his court to advise him on the promotion of French commerce and industry, traveled constantly about his kingdom and was fond of slipping quietly into inns to listen to the common talk about the state of affairs. Foreign trade had almost lapsed in France during the Hundred Years' War. Louis promoted commerce and established more than sixty fairs. He encouraged the importation into France of skilled workers from Italy, particularly glass-blowers and silk workers, and aided to establish the great silk industry which grew up at Lyons. He improved roads and canals, and gave out concessions for mineral rights which encouraged the capitalists of the day to organize great companies and French industrial centers arose. He was too suspicious of the great nobles to use them in his government; instead he called upon the bourgeoisie or even lower-born men to be his advisers. He called the States General only once and relied rather upon the assemblies of the provinces. France was still divided into feudal areas and the laws and taxes varied from province to province, and so remained for many years. Yet despite these limitations Louis XI was almost a pattern of the absolute monarch, interested in good business. *Louis XI's commercial policy*

Prosperity of France

In the middle of the fifteenth century appeared *The Imitation of Christ*, probably by Thomas à Kempis. It was a manifestation of

that mysticism which in the fifteenth century appeared in Europe, particularly in the Low Countries. The *Imitation* is a book of prayers, of Christian counsel, of conversations between Christ and the devout man, and is medieval in its humility and devotion; it has been one of the most widely read religious books in Christendom, and its immediate reception and publication in many editions are evidence that, however corrupt the Church, the spirit of Christian piety was still widespread.

Yet there was a difference between the days of medieval faith and this fifteenth century. In the gutters of Paris lived the first great modern lyric poet of France, François Villon (1431-?). In the curious way in which great poets both create and embody the spirit of their age, Villon struck in his poetry the note of this period. Villon in his student days began that career of turbulence and rascality which he never quitted. Yet Villon was a sincere if intermittently virtuous catholic. But he was a man of the new age. He was patriotic, wept for Jean Darc "la bonne Lorraine," and had a round contempt for any who wished ill to "la royaume de France." St. Francis could sing of "his sister Death," and Dante could put sinners in his marvelously devised Hell, but the thought of death struck Villon, despite his faith, with a piercing anguish. When he considered the inevitable decay of all human beauty he could only ask his bewildered and poignant question, "Mais où sont les neiges d'antan?"—"where are the snows of yester-year?"

Charles VIII (1483–98) broke off his arranged marriage with Maximilian's daughter and married instead the heiress to Brittany. He was made to surrender Artois and the County of Burgundy, which he was to have received from Maximilian, but he gained Brittany. The most important act of his reign, however, was his foolish invasion of Italy in 1494. He was unable to do more than march in and out, and the French garrisons he left in Naples were soon expelled by the local princes with the aid of Ferdinand of Spain. But in Italy, as we have seen, the French became enamoured of the civilization of the Renaissance. Thereafter Italian artists and scholars were welcomed in France and in the next century the French were again cultivating the arts they had so long neglected.

At the end of the fifteenth century feudal Europe, with its single supreme head, had disappeared. In its place was a group of strong centralized monarchies, each intensely jealous of its own internal

Faroe Is

Shetland Is

Orkney Is

Bergen

Trondhj

KINGD. OF

Oslo

Stavanger

K. OF SCOTLAND

Edinburgh

N O R T H

Cain

50

IRELAND

Dublin

S E A

K. OF DENMARK

O C E A N

Cork

Wales

K. OF

ENGLAND

London

Channel Is

Ca

Bremen

Cologne

Rhine

Saxony

Dresd

Brandenburg

Magdebg

Frankfort

Prague

Bohemia

Paris

Strasbg

Danube

Bavaria

Munich

Sa

A T L A N T I C   O C E A N

Nantes

Orléans

Loire

Seine

K. OF FRANCE

Basel

Swiss

Confederation

Savoy

Milan

Po

VENETIAN REP.

ADRIATIC

Bordeaux

Mon

Avignon

Provence

Genoa

Florence

Rome

K. OF

Naples

NAPL

Santiago

Oporto

40

K. OF PORTUGAL

Duero

Navarre

Ebro

A r a g o n

Corsica

(to Genoa)

Lisbon

Madrid

K. OF SPAIN

Tagus

Castile

Guadiana

Córdova

Barcelona

Balearic Is

K. OF SARDINIA

(to Spain)

Granada

Tangier

Ceuta

(Port.)

Melilla

(Sp.)

Oran

(Sp.)

Algiers

M E D I T E R R A N E A N

Palermo

K. OF SICILY

Mess

SULTANATE

Fez

OF FEZ

SULT. OF ALGIERS

SULT.

OF TUNIS

Malta

(to Spain)

A

EUROPE ABOUT 1500

Boundary of the Holy Roman Empire

Possessions of the House of Hapsburg

Possessions of the House of Bourbon

English Miles
0   100   200   300   400   500

Torned

SWEDEN

Finland

RUSSIA

Helsingfors

Stockholm

Esthonia

Novgorod

Nijni Novgorod

EMPIRE

Volga

Moscow

Samara

Gottland

DOMAIN OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER

Riga

Dwina

Tatars

Königsberg

Vilna

D. OF PRUSSIA

GR⁰ PRINC.

Voronezh

KHANATE

KHAN

N. D. OF Warsaw

Pinsk

OF THE

OF

Sarai

ASTRAKHAN

Vistula

POLAND   OF LITHUANIA

Kiev

Ukraine

Volga

slau

Cracow

Lemberg

Galicia

Dniester

Dnieper

CRIMEA

Don

Astrakhan

CASPIAN S.

esburg

Budapest

HUNGARY

Moldavia

Jassy

Yedisan

Azov

Circassians

Tiflis

Theiss

Transylvania

Crimea

K. OF

Georgia

Belgrade

Wallachia

Baluklava

IMERETH

OF HUNGARY

Bukharest

Danube

BLACK   SEA

Erzerum

PERSIAN

Servia

Nish

Bulgaria

Sinope

Trebizond

Sofia

Adrianople

Constantinople

Tabriz

MONTENEGRO

Oem

Salonica

Angora

Kisil Irmat

EMP.

Corfu (to Venice)

Janina

IV

E   M   P   I   R   E

Mosul

Tigris

Smyrna

Adalia

Aleppo

Bagdad

Morea

Rhodes

Cyprus (to Ven.)

Syria

Euphrates

(to Venice)

Crete

Beirut

Damascus

E   A   N   S   E   A

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authority, unwilling to see the others increase in power and aligning in great systems to dispute for further power in Italy and on their common boundaries. And in Germany the first rumblings of the Reformation were heard. "In this part of the world," wrote Erasmus in 1517, "I am afraid that a great revolution is impending."

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GENEALOGICAL TABLES

The Lombard Kings in Italy

```
                  1. ALBOIN
                     (568–72)
                     ────                    Garibald, Duke of
                  2. CLEPHO                      Bavaria

                  3. AUTHARI = Theodelinda   4. AGILULF    Gundoald
                     (583–90)                   (590–615)

      5. ADALOALD      Gundiberga :  6. ARIOALD      9. ARIBERT
         (615–25)                       (625–36)        (653–62)

10. GODEBERT      12. BERTHARI      A daughter = 11. GRIMOALD
    (662)             (672–88)                      (662–71)

Reginbert, Duke of  13. CUNIBERT          Garibald
     Turin              (688–700)

15. ARIBERT II    14. LIUTBERT
    (701–11)          (700–1)
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Kings not connected with this house were (7) Rothari, 636–52; (8) Rodoald, 652–3; (16) Ansprand, 712; (17) Liutprand 712–44; (18) Hildebrand, 744; (19) Ratchis, 744–9; (20) Aistulf, 749–56; (21) Desiderius, 756–74.

The Great Mayors of the Palace

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      St. Arnulf, Bp. of           Pepin the Elder, Mayor
        Metz, died 641              of Austrasia, died 639


      ANSEGISEL, mayor : Begga                        GRIMWALD, mayor of
        of Austrasia                                  Austrasia, died 656
        (632–8)
      Plectrudis = PEPIN of Herstal, mayor   Alphaida
                   of Austrasia, Neustria, and
                      Burgundy, died 714

GRIMWALD,         Drogo,         CHARLES MARTEL, mayor
mayor of          died 708         of Austrasia 717, of all the
Neustria,                          Kingdoms 719, died 741
died 714

Theudoald        CARLOMAN,      PEPIN the Short,   Grifo    Bernhard
                 mayor of       mayor of Neustria
                 Austrasia,     741, King of the
                 died 754       Franks 752

             CHARLES the    CARLOMAN       Adalhard    Wala
               Great
```

THE DESCENDANTS OF CHARLES THE GREAT

CHARLES THE GREAT (768–814)

CHARLES, King of Neustria, died 811

PEPIN, King of Italy, died 810

BERNARD, King of Italy (810–18)

LOUIS THE PIOUS = (1) Ermingarde
King of Aquitaine, (2) Judith
Emperor (814–40)

(1) LOTHAIRE, King of Italy, Emperor (840–55)

LOUIS II, Emperor (855–75)

thilde,

CHARLES, King of Provence (855–63)

Ermingarde = Boso, King of Provence (879–87)

Louis, King of Provence (887–905), Emperor, 901

LOTHAIRE, King of Lorraine (855–69)

(1) PEPIN, King of Aquitaine, died 838

Pepin the Younger, claimed Aquitaine (838–46)

(1) LUDWIG, King of Bavaria, King of Germany (843–76)

CARLOMAN, King of Bavaria, died 880

ARNULF, King of Germany (887–99), Emperor, 896

Zwentibold

LUDWIG THE CHILD, King of Germany (899–911)

LUDWIG THE SAXON, King of Saxony, died 882

CHARLES THE FAT, Emperor (882–7)

(2) CHARLES THE BALD, King of Neustria (843–77), Emperor (875–7)

CHARLES, King of Aquitaine, died 865

LOUIS II, King of France (877–9)

LOUIS III, King of France (879–82)

CARLOMAN, King of France (879–84)

CHARLES THE SIMPLE, King of France (893–929)

(2) Gisela = Eberhard of Friuli

BERENGAR, King of Italy, 887 Emperor, 915

GENEALOGY OF THE SAXON AND SALIAN EMPERORS

HENRY I, THE FOWLER, Duke of the Saxons,
German King (919–36)
m. Matilda

| THANKMAR (illegitimate) *d.* 938 | OTTO I (936–73) *m.* (1) Edith of England (2) Adelaide, widow of Lothaire, King of Italy | HENRY, Duke of Bavaria, *m.* Judith, daughter of Arnulf, Duke of Bavaria | BRUNO, Archbishop of Cologne + 966 | GERBERGA, *m.* (1) Giselbert, Duke of Lorraine (2) Louis IV, King of West Franks | HEDWIG, *m.* Hugh the Great |

(1)
LUDOLF, Duke of Swabia

OTTO, Duke of Swabia

(2)
OTTO II (973–83) *m.* Theophano, daughter of Romanus II, Eastern Emperor

OTTO III (983–1002)

LIUTGARDE, *m.* Conrad the Red, Duke of Lorraine

OTTO

HENRY

WILLIAM (illegitimate), Archbishop of Mainz

BRUNO
Pope Gregory V (996–9)

CONRAD

HENRY II, Duke of Bavaria, the Quarrelsome

HENRY II, THE SAINT (1002–24) *m.* Cunigunde

HEDWIG, *m.* Burkhard, Duke of Swabia

GISELA, *m.* King Stephen of Hungary

GISELA, *m.* CONRAD II, Duchess of Swabia | THE SALIC (1024–39)

ERNEST, Duke of Swabia

CONRAD of Carinthia, rival to Conrad II

BRUNO
Bishop of Toul, Pope Leo IX (1048–54)

HENRY III (1039–56)
m. Agnes, daughter of William, Count of Poitou

HENRY IV (1056–1106)
m. (1) Bertha
(2) Praxedis of Russia

CONRAD, Anti-Cæsar, *d.* 1101

HENRY V (1106–25)
m. Matilda of England

AGNES
m. Frederick, Duke of Swabia, ancestor of the Hohenstaufen

GENEALOGY OF THE HOUSE OF TANCRED OF HAUTEVILLE

TANCRED OF HAUTEVILLE

| WILLIAM IRON-ARM, Lord of Apulia, d. 1046 | DROGO, Count of Apulia, d. 1051 | HUMFROI, Count of Apulia, d. 1057 | ROBERT GUISCARD, Duke of Apulia, d. 1085 | ROGER I, Count of Sicily, d. 1101 |

ROGER, Duke of Apulia, d. 1111
│
WILLIAM, Duke of Apulia, d. 1127

ROGER II, King of Sicily and Duke of Apulia, d. 1154

| ROGER, Duke of Apulia · TANCRED OF LECCE (illegitimate), d. 1194 | WILLIAM I, the Bad, d. 1166 · WILLIAM II, the Good, d. 1189, m. Joanna, daughter of Henry II of England | CONSTANCE, m. HENRY VI, d. 1197 · FREDERICK II d. 1250 |

| ROGER III, d. 1194 | WILLIAM III, deposed by Henry vi in 1194 | ALBINA m. Walter of Brienne |

THE GUELFS AND THE HOHENSTAUFEN

HENRY IV, d. 1106

FREDERICK of Büren, m. (1) Agnes m. (2) LEOPOLD III of Babenberg, Margrave of Austria
Duke of Swabia, d. 1105

(1) CONRAD III (1138-52) — (2) HENRY JASOMIRGOTT, Duke of Austria, 1156 — (2) Otto, Bishop of Freising

CONRAD III:
- (1) HENRY, d. 1150
- FREDERICK, Duke of Swabia, d. 1147 — m. WELF VI, JUDITH
  - FREDERICK of Rothenburg, Duke of Swabia, d. 1167
  - FREDERICK I (Barbarossa), (1152-90), m. Beatrice of Burgundy
    - CONRAD, Count Palatine, d. 1195
    - HENRY VI (1190-7), m. Constance of Sicily
      - FREDERICK II, m. (1) Constance of Aragon (2) Yolande of Brienne (3) Isabella, daughter of John of England
        - (1) HENRY, d. 1253
        - (1) MARGARET, m. Albert of Thuringia
        - (2) CONRAD IV (1250-4)
          - Conradin, d. 1268
        - (3) HENRY, d. 1142
        - ENZIO, d. 1272 (illegitimate)
        - MANFRED, d. 1266 (illegitimate)
          - Constance, m. Peter III of Aragon
    - FREDERICK, Duke of Swabia, d. 1191
    - PHILIP of Swabia, d. 1208
      - Beatrice, m. OTTO IV
      - Beatrice, m. FERDINAND III of Castile
        - ALFONSO X of Castile

WELF IV, Duke of Bavaria, d. 1101

- WELF V, d. 1120, m. Countess Matilda
- HENRY THE BLACK, Duke of Bavaria, d. 1126
  - HENRY THE PROUD, d. 1139, m. Gertrude, daughter of Lothaire of Supplinburg
    - HENRY THE LION, m. Matilda of England
      - WILLIAM, Otto the Child, first Duke of Brunswick, and ancestor of later dukes
      - OTTO IV, d. 1218, m. (1) Beatrix, daughter of Philip of Swabia (2) Mary, daughter of Henry IV of Brabant
  - WELF VI, JUDITH, d. 1191
    - WELF VII, d. 1167

GENEALOGY OF THE CAPETIAN KINGS OF FRANCE

ROBERT THE STRONG, Duke of the French

ODO, King of the West Franks (888-9)

ROBERT, King of the West Franks (922-3)

HUGH THE GREAT, Duke of the French (*d.* 956), *m.* Hedwig, daughter of Henry the Fowler

HUGH CAPET (987-96), *m.* Adela

ROBERT II (The Pious — 996-1031), *m.* (1) Rosala (2) Bertha, daughter of Conrad, King of Arles, and widow of Odo I of Blois (3) Constance of Arles

ROBERT, Duke of Burgundy, Ancestor of the Capetian dukes of Burgundy

HENRY I (1031-60), *m.* Anne, daughter of Jaroslav, Duke of Russia

PHILIP I (1060-1108), *m.* (1) Bertha, daughter of Florence, Count of Holland (2) Bertrada of Montfort, divorced wife of Fulk le Réchin, Count of Anjou

PHILIP

FLEURY

LOUIS VI (The Fat — 1108-37), *m.* Adelaide, daughter of Humbert II, Count of Maurienne

LOUIS VII (The Young — 1137-80), *m.* (1) Eleanor of Aquitaine (2) Constance of Castile (3) Adela of Champagne

HENRY, Archbishop of Reims

ROBERT of Dreux

PETER of Courtenay

HUGH THE GREAT, Count of Vermandois

RALPH, Count of Vermandois

ISABELLA of Vermandois, *m.* Philip of Alsace, Count of Flanders

CONSTANCE, *m.* (1) Eustace, Count of Boulogne (2) Raymond V of Toulouse

(1)

MARY, m. Henry I of Champagne

ALICE, m. Theobald I of Blois

(2)

MARGARET, m. Henry of Anjou (d. 1183)

ALICE

PHILIP II (Augustus) (1180–1223), m. (1) Isabella of Hainault (2) Ingeborg of Denmark (3) Agnes of Meran

(3)

AGNES, m. (1) Alexius Comnenus (2) Andronicus Comnenus

(1) LOUIS VIII (1223–6), m. Blanche of Castile, granddaughter of Henry II

(3) PHILIP, Count of Boulogne

(3) MARY, m. Henry I, Duke of Brabant

LOUIS IX (St. Louis) (1226–70), m. Margaret, eldest daughter of Raymond Berengar, Count of Provence

ROBERT (d. 1250), Count of Artois, m. Maud of Brabant

ALPHONSE (d. 1271), Count of Poitou, m. Joan, daughter of Raymond VII, Count of Toulouse

BLANCHE, m. (1) Henry I, King of Navarre and Count of Champagne (2) Edmund, Earl of Lancaster

CHARLES (d. 1285), Count of Anjou and King of Sicily, m. Beatrice, fourth daughter of Raymond Berengar of Provence

PHILIP III (the Bold) (1270–85), m. (1) Isabel, daughter of James I of Aragon (2) Mary, daughter of Henry III, Duke of Brabant

ROBERT II (d. 1302)

JOHN, Count of Nevers (d. 1270)

PETER, Count of Alençon (d. 1284)

ROBERT, Count of Clermont (d. 1318), m. Beatrice of Burgundy, heiress of Bourbon

ISABELLA, m. Theobald V (the Young), King of Navarre and Count of Champagne

BLANCHE, m. Ferdinand of la Cerda, son of Alphonso X of Castile

MARGARET, m. John I, Duke of Brabant

AGNES, m. Robert II, Duke of Burgundy

LOUIS I, Duke of Bourbon (d. 1342), (ancestor of house of Bourbon)

(1) PHILIP IV (the Fair) (1285–1314), m. Joan of Navarre

CHARLES, Count of Valois

(2) LOUIS, Count of Evreux

MARGARET, m. Edward I

PHILIP VI of Valois, King in 1328

LOUIS X (1314–16)

PHILIP V (1316–21)

CHARLES IV (1322–8)

ISABELLA, m. Edward II

GENEALOGY OF THE KINGS OF JERUSALEM

A

Godfrey the Bearded,
Duke of Lower Lorraine, *d.* 1069,
m. (1) Doda; (2) Beatrice, mother of Countess Matilda

Godfrey the Hunchback,
Duke of Lower Lorraine,
d. 1076

Ida,
m. Eustace II,
Count of Boulogne

GODFREY DE BOUILLON,
Duke of Lower Lorraine, and
Baron of the Holy Sepulchre,
d. 1100

Eustace III
of Boulogne

BALDWIN I,
Count of Edessa and
King of Jerusalem
(1100–18)

B

BALDWIN II,
Cousin of Baldwin I
(1118–30)

MILLICENT,
m. FULK OF ANJOU
(1130–43)

BALDWIN III
(1143–63)

AMALRIC I
(1163–74)

BALDWIN IV
(1174–85)

Sibyl,
m. (1) William of Montferrat
(2) GUY OF LUSIGNAN
(1186–92)

Isabella,
m. (2) CONRAD OF MONTFERRAT
(1192)
(3) HENRY OF CHAMPAGNE
(1192–7)
(4) AMALRIC II OF CYPRUS
(1197–1205)

(1)
BALDWIN V
(1185–6)

(2)
Mary,
m. JOHN OF BRIENNE
(1210–22)

(4)
AMALRIC III
(*d.* 1206)

Yolande,
m. EMPEROR FREDERICK II
(*d.* 1250)

THE SUCCESSION IN 1328

Philip III, 1285

Philip IV, 1314

Charles of Valois

Louis X, 1816

Philip V, 1822

Charles IV, 1328

Isabella = *Edward II*,
1328

Edward I,
1306

Philip VI, 1860

Jane

Margaret

Blanche

Edward III, 1377

John, 1864

Charles the Bad

Philip

Louis III

Philip

John of Gaunt, 1399

Charles V, 1880

Navarre

Burgundy

Flanders

Orléans

Henry IV, 1413

Charles VI, 1422

Henry V,
1422

Catharine Charles VII, 1461

Married

Henry VI, 1471
King of England and France

The dates, years of death. French kings, in black type. Descendants of Edward I, in italics.

THE HOUSE OF HABSBURG

RUDOLF I, 1273–91

- Albert I = Elizabeth of Tyrol, d. 1308
- Matilda = Lewis II of Wittelsbach
- Clementia = Charles Martel of Anjou
- Agnes = Albert II of Saxony
- Rudolf = Agnes, daughter of Ottocar
  - John, murderer of Albert I, d. 1313

Children of Albert I:

- Rudolf, King of Bohemia, 1306–7
- Frederick, = Blanche, daughter of Philip III of France
- Frederick, titular King of the Romans, d. 1330
- Leopold, d. 1326
- Albert II, d. 1358

(Albertine line)

- Albert III (1)
- Margaret = Meinhard of Tyrol
- Rudolf, d. 1365
- Albert IV, d. 1404
- Albert V, King of the Romans, 1438–9, as Albert II = Elizabeth, daughter of Emperor Sigismund
- Ladislas Postumus, Duke of Austria, King of Bohemia and Hungary, d. 1457

(Leopoldine line)

- Frederick, d. 1362
- Leopold, killed at Sempach, 1386 = Virida Visconti
- William, d. 1406
- Leopold, d. 1411

(Styrian line)

- Ernest = Cymburga, d. 1424
- Frederick III, King of the Romans, 1440–93
- Albert, d. 1463
- Maximilian I = Mary of Burgundy

(Tyrolese line)

- Frederick
- Sigismund, d. 1496

(1) — The Habsburg territories were divided between Albert III and his brother Leopold, the former taking Austria, and the latter the rest. Of the sons of Leopold, Ernest succeeded to Styria and Carinthia, Frederick to Tyrol and the lands in Swabia. The Albertine line became extinct with the death of Ladislas Postumus, when Austria passed to Frederick III, and the latter's son, Maximilian I, reunited all the territories of the house.

FRANCE, BURGUNDY, AND NAPLES

CAPET

VALOIS

ANJOU

BURGUNDY

Louis VIII (1223–6)

Louis IX (1226–70)

Philip III (1270–85)

Philip IV (1285–1314)

Charles IV (1322–8)

Philip V (1316–22)

uis X 14–16)

Charles of Valois

Philip VI (1328–50)

John (1350–64)

Charles V (1364–80)

Louis, Duke of Orléans, founder of the line of Valois-Orléans

John, dauphin, † 1416

Charles VI (1380–1422) m. Isabel of Bavaria

uis, hin, 15

Charles VII (1422–61)

Louis XI (1461–83)

Charles VIII (1483–98)

John, Duke of Berry

Louis, Duke of Anjou, founder of the second royal house of Naples

Louis II (1417)

Louis III (d. 1434)

René (d. 1480)

Charles of Maine

Charles (d. 1481 leaving Anjou to Louis XI)

Charles I of Anjou (d. 1285)

Charles II (d. 1309)

Robert (d. 1343)

John

Charles

Joan I (d. 1382)

Lewis

Charles III (d. 1386)

Joan II (d. 1435)

Philip, Duke of Burgundy (d. 1404)

John the Fearless (d. 1419)

Philip the Good (d. 1467)

Charles the Bold (d. 1477)

Mary = Maximilian, Archduke of Austria

Philip = Joanna, heiress of (d. 1506) Castile

Charles V, King of Spain, Lord of the Netherlands, nd Em...

Small caps denote kings of France.
Black letter denotes kings of Naples of the *first* house of Anjou.
Italics denote kings (titular) of Naples of the *second* house of Anjou.

FOREWORD

TO THE CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

The appended Chronological Table ought not to dismay either the teacher or the pupil, although it includes more events than are mentioned in the text. The value of a fact is not in itself but in its position in a succession of facts. Facts are the framework or skeleton of history. It is always necessary to perceive the sequence of events, and the relation of each to each. *"Remembering" dates is not a matter of memory, but a matter of association of ideas and an understanding of the meaning and relation of events.* The pupil who is trained by his teacher to select from this list the events pertinent to a reign, a country, a movement, and refer them to the appropriate portion of the text and himself mentally weave them into the narrative will grow both in knowledge and understanding. He will learn to think constructively and to use his imagination to interpret things more fully than they have been in the text. These events when studied in conjunction with the maps and the genealogical tables—where these are necessary—will give the pupil a substantial knowledge, and a knowledge in which he may take pride because he has made it his own by process of reasoning and understanding. One may commit to memory an entire table of dates and understand nothing of the history which they constitute. Careful study with an eye to seeing the succession of events and their relation will gradually strengthen the pupil's historical perception. The study of history under such conditions is not a bugbear but a delight. A clever teacher can make a game of teaching history, and relieve it of its routine and monotony by urging the pupils to see which of them can find the most events mentioned in the table which are pertinent to the lesson of the day. Interest thus aroused will lead them to do wider reading in some of the literature cited at the end of each chapter.

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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF IMPORTANT EVENTS

31 B. C.—14 A. D.	Organization of Roman Empire by Augustus. –
27	Division of provinces into imperial and senatorial.
20	Campaign against the Parthians.
19	Subjugation of Spain.
16	Mœsia made a Roman province.
15	Rætia and Noricum erected into provinces.
12–9	Organization of left bank of Rhine into Germania superior and Germania inferior.
9 A. D.	Defeat of Varus by the Germans in the Teutoberger Wald.
10	Pannonia made a Roman province.
14–37	Tiberius emperor.
14–16	Three expeditions of Germanicus against the Germans.
43	Beginning of Roman conquest of Britain.
58–63	War with Armenians and Parthians. Conquest of Armenia.
64	Burning of Rome.
69	Vespasian emperor.
70	Destruction of Jerusalem by Titus.
81–84	Roman power in Britain extended as far as Scotland.
86–90	Unsuccessful war of Domitian with Dacians.
98–117	Trajan emperor.
101–2	First Dacian War.
105–7	Conquest of Dacia [Roumania and Transylvania].
105	Arabia (country south of Damascus to head of Red Sea) made a Roman province.
114–16	New war with Parthia. Roman conquest to Tigris river. Creation of provinces of Mesopotamia, Assyria.
117–38	Hadrian emperor. First wall between Britain and Caledonia (Scotland).
117	Abandonment of Armenia, Assyria, Mesopotamia. Euphrates made boundary.
132–35	Rebellion of the Jews in Palestine.
138–61	Reign of Antoninus Pius.
161–80	Reign of Marcus Aurelius.
1/2–65	War with Parthians. Part of Mesopotamia recovered.
166–80	Serious war with Marcomanni and Quadi in Bend of Danube. Plague.
180–92	Commodus. First Roman emperor to pay tribute to the Germans.

193–211 Septimius Severus. Pretender in east (Niger) and west (Clodius Albinus).

208 Expedition against the Caledonians. Second wall across Britain. Papinian the great jurist flourished. Drastic administrative reorganization. Reduction of powers of senate.

211–17 Caracalla. The Constitutio Antoniana confers Roman citizenship on all free provincials in order to increase the capitation tax.

214 Unsuccessful war against the Goths. Tribute paid them. First mention of the Alemanni. Vicious administration.

222–35 Alexander Severus. Mild but weak rule. Increase of German pressure. The jurists Ulpian and Julius Paulus. Great vogue of oriental religions, especially the Syrian cult.

226 Dissolution of the Parthian Monarchy of the Arsacids. Foundation of New Persian Monarchy of the Sassanids which lasted until 641, when it was destroyed by the Mohammedans in battle of Nehavend ("victory of victories").

231 War with New Persia.

248 Celebration of thousandth anniversary of founding of Rome.

249–51 Decius.

250 First formal persecution of Christians.

251 Defeat of Goths in Thrace. Decius is killed.

259 Sapor of Persia ravages Syria.

260–68 Gallienus. Period of the "Thirty Tyrants." Increasing menace of the Goths. The Alemanni over-run the Decuman Fields and threaten Italy.

262 Goths in Macedonia and Asia Minor. Sack of Ephesus. Antioch taken by Sapor.

263 Franks invade Gaul.

267 Heruli invade Greece.

268 Claudius II defeats Goths in Mœsia.

270–75 Aurelian. Abandons Dacia to Goths. Defeat of Alemanni on Metaurus. Erection of great Aurelian Wall around Rome.

273 Conquest of Palmyra. Queen Zenobia. Introduction of sun worship. Recovery of Egypt. Subjugation of pretenders and tyrants in provinces. "Restorer of universal empire." Contemplated persecution of Christians.

275 Tacitus defeats Alani in Asia Minor.

276–82 Probus. Drives back Franks, Alemanni, Burgundians, and Vandals threatening Gaul. Enormous increase of German mercenaries in army. Colonization of depopulated regions and waste lands by German settlers.

284–305 Diocletian. Conversion of government into absolute monarchy after Persian form. Orientalization of court. Administrative partition into prefectures and dioceses. Reorganization of finances and taxation.

297–98	Successful war against Persians. For last time Roman frontier extended again to Tigris. Repulse of German invasions in Gaul. Subjugation of insurrections in the provinces.
303	Last and greatest persecution of Christians begun.
305	Abdication of Diocletian. Eighteen years of civil war follow. Rise of Constantine.
312	Victory of Constantine "at the Milvian Bridge" [*In hoc signo vinces*].
313	Edict of Milan granting religious toleration to Christians, in which policy, however, Constantine had been anticipated by Galerius.
323–37	Constantine sole emperor.
325	Council of Nicaea. Nicene Creed.
330	Capital of empire removed to Constantinople, begun in 324.
337–61	Constantine's three sons divide the empire.
348	Ulfilas (died 388) missionary to Goths.
357	Victory of Julian over Alemanni near Strassburg.
361–63	Julian "the apostate," attempts peacefully to restore paganism. Julian perishes in war with Persians.
364–75	Valentinian I in west.
364–78	Valens in east.
367–69	Theodosius wars against Picts in Britain.
375	Invasion of Huns into Europe. The West Goths enter Mœsia and Thrace.
378	Battle of Adrianople. Beginning of German supremacy in the empire.
379–95	Theodosius the Great. Pacification of the Goths. Reform of administration.
382	Compact made by Theodosius I with West Goths marks transition of Germans to founding of kingdoms.
390	Insurrection in Thessalonica terribly suppressed. St. Ambrose of Milan.
392	Proscription of paganism. Christianity made state religion of empire. Triumph of Christian religious intolerance.
395	Division of empire between Arcadius (east) and Honorius (west). Rise of Alaric, first king of West Goths, who ravages Macedonia and Greece. The Goths in Illyricum orientale, whence they attempt to invade Italy.
401(?)	First effort to invade Italy repulsed by Stilicho.
402	Battle of Pollentia (near Milan). Alaric again defeated.
404–06	Inroads of Germans in Italy under Radagaisus. Stilicho annihilates them at Faesulae.
406	The "Grand Invasion" of Gaul by Vandals, Suevi. Terrible harrying of the provinces.
408	Murder of Stilicho. Alaric invades Italy successfully and makes first advance on Rome.

409   Second advance on Rome.
410   Sack of Rome by the Goths [August 23–24].
410–15   Athaulf, Alaric's brother-in-law succeeds him on his death. The West Goths settle in southwestern Gaul. Toulouse the capital.
420   Death of St. Jerome.
429–39   Vandal conquest of Africa.
430   Death of St. Augustine.
438–39   Theodosian Code in east and west.
442   Roman legions withdrawn from Britain.
       Atilla in Macedonia and Thrace.
443   Burgundian kingdom established in upper Rhone and Sâone.
449   Beginning of invasion of Britain by Jutes, Angles and Low Saxons. Kingdom of Kent first established.
451   Atilla invades Gaul. Battle in the Catelaunian Fields (near Châlons?).
       Council of Chalcedon.
452   Atilla invades Italy. Pope Leo I, the Great.
       Traditional beginning of Venice.
453   Death of Attila. Dissolution of Hunnic empire.
455   Vandal sack of Rome.
462–83   Euric, king of West Goths, defeats Suevi and puts an end to Roman domination in Spain.
476   Traditional date of deposition of Romulus Augustulus by Odovaker.
477–91   Founding of Sussex.
481   Clovis, king of Salian Franks.
486   Battle of Soissons. Frank domination extended over northern Gaul.
489–93   Theodoric the Ostrogoth establishes kingdom in Italy.
495–577   Formation of kingdom of Wessex.
496   Battle of Tolbiac. Clovis defeats Alemanni and becomes Christian.
507   Clovis defeats West Goths at Vouillé and extends domination to Garonne. Capital of West Gothic kingdom removed to Toledo.
511   Death of Clovis. Kingdom divided between four sons.
526   Death of Theodoric.
527   Accession of Justinian.
529   First edition of the Code. Belesarius defeats Persians at Daras.
530   Frank conquest of Thuringia.
531   Chosroes becomes king of Persia.
533   Nika riot.
534   Belesarius conquers Vandals. Frank conquest of Burgundy.
536   Belesarius captures Rome.
537–38   Siege of Rome by Vitiges.
539   Milan sacked by Ostrogoths.
540   Ravenna taken by Belesarius. Persian capture of Antioch.
546   Rome captured by Totila.

547	Rome recovered by Belesarius.
547–88	Formation of kingdom of Northumbria.
549	Rome retaken by Totila.
550–51	Beginning of Avar and Bulgar pressure on lower Danube provinces.
552	Narses, successor of Belesarius in Italy, totally defeats Ostrogoths. Introduction of silk worm culture into Europe (Morea). Frank conquest of the Bavarians.
558	Chlotair I unites Frank kingdoms.
561	Chlotair I dies and divides kingdom between four sons.
562	Peace between Justinian and Chosroes.
565	Death of Justinian.
568	Lombard invasion of Italy. Exarchate of Ravenna.
569–86	Leovgild rules all Spain.
571(?)	Birth of Mohammed.
572	War renewed between Eastern Roman Empire and Persia. Lombards take Pavia.
573	Beginning of Frankish civil wars.
575(?)	Beginning of kingdom of East Anglia.
579	Death of Chosroes.
590–604	Pope Gregory I, the Great.
590–616	Supremacy of Ethelbert of Kent.
596	Mission of St. Augustine to England.
602	Murder of emperor Maurice by his successor Phokas.
603–20	Persian conquest of Syria and Palestine. Jerusalem taken in 614.
610–41	Heraclius emperor in Constantinople. He recovers Syria and Palestine (622–28).
613	Peace of Paris ends Frankish civil wars. Rise of Pepin of Landen.
615	Death of St. Columban.
616	Invasion of Egypt by Persians.
622	Flight (Hegira) of Mohammed from Mecca.
623	First victory of Mohammed at Bedr. Slavonic kingdom of Samo.
626	Attack on Constantinople by Persians and Avars.
629–39	Dagobert I, king of Franks.
630	Mohammed captures Mecca.
632	Mohammedan conquest of Syria. Damascus taken in 634.
635–42	First Irish missionaries in Northumbria. Supremacy of Oswald of Northumbria.
638–40	Mohammedan conquest of Egypt.
642–55	Supremacy of Penda of Mercia in England.
647–709	Mohammedan conquest of Africa.
648	Mohammedan capture of Cyprus.
653	Mohammedan capture of Rhodes.
654–58	Mohammedan attacks on Constantinople.
661–750	Ommeyad khalifs at Damascus.

667	First great siege of Constantinople by Mohammedans.
672–73	Second great siege of Constantinople by Mohammedans.
672–80	Disintegration of Visigothic kingdom under Wamba.
678	Mission of Wilfrid among the Frisians.
687	Battle of Testry. Establishment of dukes of Austrasia as mayors of the palace in the Frank kingdom. Pepin of Heristal.
688–726	Supremacy of Wessex under Ine. Mission of Willibrord to Frisia. St. Boniface. Venerable Bede, first great English author.
692–93	Mohammedan destruction of Carthage.
711	Mohammedan conquest of Spain.
713–34	All Spain except the Asturias conquered.
717	Third great siege of Constantinople by Mohammedans. Accession of Leo the Syrian (Isaurian). Beginning of Iconoclastic Controversy.
718	Mission of St. Boniface in Germany.
719	Narbonne captured by Mohammedans.
721	First Mohammedan inroad into Gaul.
723	Sardinia taken by Mohammedans.
728	Ravenna taken by Lombards. Recaptured by exarch 729.
732	Karl Martel defeats Mohammedans at Tours (Poitiers).
735	Death of Bede.
739–57(?)	Alfonso I of the Asturias unites Galicia and Cantabria with his kingdom.
741	Death of Karl Martel. Accession of Pepin the Short.
744	Founding of abbey of Fulda by Boniface. His organization of many bishoprics in Germany.
750	Abul Abbas destroys Ommeyad dynasty in Damascus and establishes the Abassid khalifate. The capital removed to Baghdad, which he founds.
752	Pepin the Short with consent of pope deposes Childeric III and becomes king of the Franks.
754	Pope Stephen II crowns Pepin.
755	Death of Boniface. Abd-el-Raman, only surviving Ommeyad, flees to Spain and founds Ommeyad khalifate at Cordova (756).
755–94	Offa king of Mercia.
756	Donation of exarchate of Ravenna to papacy. Founding of temporal power of popes.
768	Death of Pepin the Short, who is succeeded by his sons, Charles and Karlmann.
771	Charles the Great sole king of the Franks.
772	Beginning of the Saxon war. First campaign against Lombards.
774	Charles extinguishes Lombard kingdom and assumes the iron crown.
778	Frank intervention in Spain. Roncesvalles. Roland and the rear guard.
782	Massacre of Saxons at Verden.
786–809	Reign of Haran-al-Raschid in Baghdad. Height of the khalifate.

788	Fall of Tassilo of Bavaria.
791–99	War with Avars.
794	Council of Frankfort.
800	Coronation of Charlemagne at Rome as emperor of the Romans.
801	Death of Paul the Deacon.
802–37	Submission of all English kingdoms to Ecgberht of Wessex.
802	Great capitulary establishing the *missi dominici*.
803	Limits of the two empires settled by treaty between Charlemagne and Nicephorus.
804	Death of Alcuin. Completion of subjugation of Saxony.
805	Destruction of the Avar kingdom.
808–10	War with the Danes.
814	Death of Charlemagne.
	Accession of Louis the Pious.
816	Second (papal) coronation of the emperor.
817	First partition of Frankish Empire.
	Great church reforming council at Aachen.
	Purge of the court. Creation of an opposition party.
	Revolt of Bernard of Italy.
822	Louis does public penance for "murder" of Bernhard.
	Founding of New Corvey, first monastery in Saxony.
823	Birth of Charles the Bald.
	Ebbo missionary to Northmen.
824	Roman constitution of Lothar I.
826	St. Anskar begins preaching in Denmark.
	Almagest of Ptolemy.
831(?)	Second partition of Frankish Empire
	Founding of archbishopric of Hamburg-Bremen.
833	The "Field of Lies."
	Third partition of Frankish Empire.
	Rebellion of Lothar I and Pepin of Aquitaine.
834	Norsemen devastate Frisia.
	Danes ravage Sheppey.
837	Fourth partition of Frankish Empire.
837–58	Ethelwulf king of England.
838	Fifth partition of Frankish Empire.
839	Sixth partition of Frankish Empire.
840	Death of Louis the Pious.
841	Battle of Fontenay.
842	Strassburg Oaths.
843	Treaty of Verdun. Seventh partition.
845	First attack of Norsemen on Paris.
846–47	Mohammedan attacks on Rome.
851	Danes take London and Canterbury.
855	Death of Lothar I. Division of Middle Kingdom (eighth partition).

858–60	Ethelbald king of England.
859	The Swedes in Ukraine.
860(?)	Reputed foundation of kingdom of Navarre.
862	Reputed date of establishment of Swedes in Novgorod.
863	Partition of kingdom of Charles of Provence between Charles the Bald and Ludwig the German (ninth partition).
865	First expeditions of Russians against Constantinople.
	Southern Italy ravaged by Mohammedans.
	Pope Nicholas I adopts the Forged Decretals.
866	Death of Robert the Strong while resisting Norsemen invasion of France.
866–71	Ethelred I king. Danes invade Northumbria and East Anglia.
868(?)	Preaching of Cyril and Methodius among Slavs of Moravia.
870	Treaty of Meersen. Partition (tenth) of Lorraine between Charles the Bald and Ludwig the German.
870	Danes conquer East Anglia.
871–901	Alfred the Great.
872	Harold Haarfagr defeats jarls at Hafurstfjord.
875	First Roman expedition of Charles the Bald.
877	Second Roman expedition of Charles the Bald. Death.
	Syracuse captured by Mohammedans.
878	Danes ravage Wessex.
879	Treaty of Wedmore. Establishment of the Danelaw.
	Kingdom of Lower Burgundy.
880	Reputed date of founding of Kiev.
881–918	Albategni the Arabian astronomer.
886–87	Great siege of Paris by the Norsemen.
887	Deposition of Charles the Fat.
888	Kingdom of Upper Burgundy.
891	Battle of the Dyle.
893–927	First Bulgarian Empire founded by Simeon.
896	Magyars in Hungary.
900	Palermo sacked by the Mohammedans.
901	Death of Alfred the Great.
901–25	Edward the Elder king. Beginning of reconquest of the Danelaw.
904	Sack of Salonika by Mohammedans.
907	Second Russian expedition to Constantinople.
909	Establishment of independent Fatimite khalifate in Egypt.
910	Foundation of Cluny. Appearance of kingdoms of Leon and Asturias in Spain.
911	Extinction of Carolingian house in Germany.
912	Treaty of Clair-sur-Epte. Founding of Normandy.
912–60	Abd-el-Raman II. Height of Spanish khalifate.
917	Defeat of Byzantine army at Achelous by Bulgarians.

919–36	Henry the Fowler, duke of Saxony, king of Germany.
922–23	Rebellion of Robert of Paris.
925–40	Athelstan king of England.
929	Beginning of the Mark Brandenburg.
933	Henry the Fowler defeats the Magyars on the Unstrutt (Merseburg).
936	Accession of Otto I the Great, in Germany.
	Union of Upper and Lower Burgundy.
937	Great battle of Brunaburh against Danes. Final submission of the Danes. Dunstan archbishop of Canterbury.
	Church reforms.
941	Third expedition of Russians to Constantinople.
951	First intervention of Otto I in Italy.
955	Great defeat of Magyars near Augsburg (Lechfeld).
962	Otto I crowned Holy Roman Emperor.
963–75	Great victories of Nicephorus and John Zimisces over Mohammedans.
970	Paulican heretics settle at Phillipopolis.
973	Death of Otto I.
978–1016	Ethelred II the Redeless. Revolt of Danes.
982	Defeat of Otto II in southern Italy by Greeks.
	Great uprising of the Slavs of the Elbe.
987	Accession of Hugh Capet. End of Carolingian dynasty in France.
988	Vladimir, prince of Kiev, professes Greek Christianity.
	Death of Dunstan.
991	Revolt of Danes in England.
994	Terrible ravages of Danes from Denmark under Sweyn Forkbeard (997, 998, 999, 1001, 1002, 1003, 1004, 1010, 1013, 1015). Imposition of heavy danegelds.
997	St. Stephen, first Christian king of Hungary, comes to throne.
1000	Christian coronation of Stephen of Hungary.
	Foundation of bishopric of Gnesen in Poland.
1001–26	Mohammedan invasion of India.
1013	Conquest of all England by Sweyn of Denmark.
1014	Battle of Clontarf. Defeat of Danes in Ireland.
	Basil II conquers first Bulgarian empire.
1016	Beginnings of Norman conquest of southern Italy.
1016–35	Knut the Great king of England.
1018	Second great Slav uprising in Germany.
	Brandenburg and Mecklenburg lost until twelfth century.
1031	End of Ommeyad dynasty in Spain.
1032	Kingdom of the Two Burgundies (Provence) united to the empire.
1033	Great famine in France.

1035	Death of Sancho the Great of Navarre. Appearance of Castile and Aragon in Spain.
1035–42	Ascendancy of the great earls in England.
1037	Union of Leon and Castile in Spain.
1038	Conquest of Persia by Seljuk Turks.
1042–66	Edward the Confessor king of England.
	Great influx of Normans. Hostility of earl Godwin to French influence.
1043	Fourth expedition of Russians against Constantinople.
1046	Synod of Sutri. Emperor Henry III interferes in scandalous condition of papacy.
1053	Vassalage of Normans in Italy to pope.
1058	Supremacy of Togrul Beg, Seljuk Turkish chieftain in Baghdad.
1059	Establishment of College of Cardinals.
1060–90	Norman conquest of Sicily.
1066	Death of Edward the Confessor; Harold earl of Wessex elected king of England.
	Harold Hardrada invades England and is killed at battle of Stamford Bridge.
	Norman Conquest of England.
	Battle of Hastings (Oct. 14).
1066–87	Reign of William the Conqueror.
1066	Third Slav uprising in Eastern Germany.
1068	Revolt in North England. Harrying of Northumberland.
1071	Hereward the Wake. Revolt of the Fenland. Lanfranc archbishop of Canterbury.
	Battle of Manzikert. Terrible Turkish defeat of Byzantine emperor.
1072–1109	Great Christian conquests in Spain. Toledo captured (1085), Valencia recovered by Cid Campeador (1094).
1073	Accession of Pope Gregory VII.
1074–85	Turkish conquests in Asia Minor.
1075	Damascus captured by Turks.
	Beginning of war of investiture.
1077	Henry IV at Canossa
1080	Second banning of Henry IV.
1081	Alexius Comnenus becomes Byzantine emperor.
1082	Battle of Durazzo. Norman fleet destroyed by Venetians.
1085	Antioch captured by Turks.
1086	Completion of Domesday survey.
1087	Death of William the Conqueror.
1087–92	The Almoravides, a heretic Mohammedan sect, invade Spain from Africa.
1087–1100	Reign of William Rufus.
1092	Break up of Seljuk Empire.
1093	Anselm made archbishop of Canterbury.

1095	Council of Clermont. Pope Urban II preaches the crusade.
1097	Dispute over investiture. Anselm exiled.
1097–99	First crusade.
1098	Crusaders capture Antioch.
1099	Crusaders take Jerusalem.
1100–35	Henry I of England. Charter of London.
1101	Roger II of Sicily comes to throne.
1105–06	Deposition and death of Henry IV of Germany.
1106	Henry I seizes Normandy from his brother Robert.
1108–37	Louis VI king of France.
1109	Tripoli captured by crusaders.
1111	Conflict between Emperor Henry V and Pascal I.
1113	St. Bernard becomes a monk at Citeaux.
1115	Death of the Great Countess Matilda of Tuscany.
1116	Emperor Henry V seizes Tuscany and other lands of Matilda.
1118	Founding of Order of Knights Templar.
	Abelard begins to teach at Paris.
1119	Loss of the Aetheling or English crown prince in shipwreck.
1122	Concordat of Worms.
1124	The crusaders capture Tyre.
1125	Lothar II becomes emperor.
1128	Henry I's daughter Matilda marries Geoffrey of Anjou.
1130–38	Schism in papacy.
1134	Death of Alfonso of Navarre and Aragon. Separation of the kingdoms.
1135	Death of Henry I.
1135–54	Stephen of Blois. The "Anarchy in England."
1137	Aragon and Catalonia (county of Barcelona) united.
1138	Scots invade England. Battle of the Standard.
1139	Conrad III of Hohenstaufen king in Germany.
	Portugal founded by French crusaders.
1142	Death of Abelard.
	Separation of Brandenburg from Saxony and Austria from Bavaria.
	Beginning of Guelf–Ghibelline feud.
1146–47	Second crusade. Arnold of Brescia in Rome.
1146–56	The Almohades, a second fanatical Mohammedan sect invade Spain.
1150	Compilation of canon law by Gratian. Peter Lombard's *Sentences.*
1152–90	Frederick I Barbarossa emperor.
1152	Eleanor of Aquitaine divorces Louis VII of France and marries Henry II of England.
1154	Accession of Henry II to English throne.
	First Italian expedition of Frederick I.
	Noureddin, a Kurdish chieftain, secedes from Baghdad Khalifate and founds a new Mohammedan state at Damascus.
	Pope Hadrian IV driven from Rome by Arnold of Brescia.

1155   Diet of Roncaglia. Frederick I crowned emperor at Rome.

1157   Besançon episode.

            Reputed date of Bank of Venice.

            Munich founded by Henry the Lion.

1158   Second Italian campaign of Frederick I. Siege of Milan.

1162   Destruction of Milan by Frederick I.

            Thomas Becket the chancellor made archbishop of Canterbury.

            Administrative reforms in England. Formation of court of the exchequer and first imposition of scutage.

1163   Second Welsh war. Beginning of conflict with Becket.

1164   Constitutions of Clarendon.

            Becket controversy.

            Third Italian campaign of Frederick I.

1166   Fourth Italian campaign of Frederick I.

            Assize of Clarendon.

1167   Formation of Lombard League.

1170   First appearance of Waldo of Lyons.

            Establishment of itinerant justices and Court of King's Bench.

            Murder of Becket.

1171   Conquest of Egypt by Saladin.

            English expedition to Ireland.

1172   Penance of Henry II at Becket's tomb.

1173   Rebellion of Henry II's sons in league with king of France.

1174   Fifth Italian campaign of Frederick I.

1176   Great defeat of Frederick I at Legnano by Lombard League.

            Founding of Carthusian Order by St. Bruno.

1177   Truce of Venice between Frederick I and Lombard cities.

1178   Albigensian heresy in France alarms the Church.

1179   Third Lateran Council.

1180–1223 Philip Augustus king of France.

1181   Assize of arms in England.

            Fall of Henry the Lion and partition of Saxony.

1183   Peace of Constance between Frederick I and Lombard cities.

1185   Salonika captured by Normans. Beginning of crumbling of Byzantine Empire.

1186   Revolt of Bulgaria. Founding of second Bulgarian Empire.

            Marriage of Henry VI with Constance last heiress of Norman Sicily.

1187   Capture of Jerusalem by Saladin.

1189   Conspiracy of Henry II's sons Richard and John with Philip Augustus of France. Rebellion in Anjou.

            Death of Henry II.

1189–92 Third Crusade.

1189–99 Richard Cœur de Lion. Third Crusade.

1190	Founding of Order of Teutonic Knights.
1193	Death of Saladin.
1194	Henry VI completes conquest of Lower Italy and Sicily.
	Richard Cœur de Lion captured by Henry VI the emperor. Heavy ransom for his release.
1195	Battle of Alarcos. Defeat of Alphonso VIII of Castile by Mohammedans.
1197	Building of Château Gaillard.
1198–1216	Pope Innocent III.
1199–1216	King John.
1200(?)	Charter of University of Paris.
1201	Founding of Riga.
1202	Joachim of Flora.
1202–04	Fourth Crusade. Latin Empire of Constantinople founded. Greek "empires" of Nicæa and Trebizond.
1203	Murder of Arthur.
1204	Conquest of Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Touraine by Philip Augustus.
1205	Emperor Baldwin I of Constantinople defeated by Bulgarians.
1206	First mention of Ghenghiz Khan in Chinese annals.
1207	Stephen Langton made archbishop of Canterbury by pope.
1208	Crusade against Albigenses begun.
	Innocent III imposes interdict on England.
1209	Founding of Franciscan Order.
1210	Aristotle's *Metaphysics* condemned.
	Mongol invasion of China.
1212	Innocent III puts up Frederick II as emperor against Otto IV.
	Children's crusade.
	Battle of Tolosa. Great defeat of Moors in Spain.
1213	Second Mongol invasion of China.
	John yields to pope and accepts his kingdom as a papal fief.
	Battle of Muret.
1214	Battle of Bouvines.
1215	Magna Charta.
	Mongol capture of Peking.
	Fourth Lateran Council.
1216–72	Henry III of England. Favoritism and misgovernment.
1217	Fifth crusade under Andrew of Hungary.
	Matthew Paris, great English historian, enters St. Albans.
	Michael Scot in Toledo.
	Founding of Dominican Order.
1218	Battle on Jaxartes between Ghenghiz Khan and the Kharismians.
	Death of Simon de Montfort I.
1219	Damietta taken by crusaders.

1220	Founding of Nizni Novgorod.
1221	Mongol conquest of Persia. Death of St. Dominic.
1222	Golden Bull of Hungary.
1224	University of Naples founded.
1226	Lombard League re-established against Frederick II.
	Battle of Bornhoeved.
1226–70	Louis IX of France.
1227	Death of Ghenghiz Khan.
1228–29	Sixth crusade by Frederick II. Jerusalem recovered by treaty which the pope forbids.
	Teutonic Knights in Prussia.
1229	Establishment of the inquisition.
1230	Union of Leon and Castile in Spain.
1231	Constitution of Frederick II for Sicily.
	Charter of Frederick II to Swiss canton of Uri.
1233	Dominican Order made sole executives of the inquisition.
1236	Mongol invasion of Russia.
1237	Victory of Frederick II over Lombard League at Cortenuova.
1239	Herman von Salza grandmaster of Teutonic Knights. Moorish kingdom of Granada founded.
1240–1302	Cimabue the artist.
1240	Pope authorizes a crusade against Frederick II.
	Imperial charter to Swiss cantons of Uri and Schwyz.
1241	Capture of Genoese fleet, with the college of cardinals on board, by the emperor.
	Mongols invade Poland and Silesia. Battle of Wahlstatt.
1244	Jerusalem lost.
1245	Council of Lyons.
1246	Extinction of Babenberg line in Austria.
1248	Seventh crusade by Louis IX of France. Inquisition introduced in Spain.
1250	Defeat and capture of Louis IX at Mansourah in Egypt.
	Mameluke power in Egypt.
	Death of Frederick II. Manfred ruler in Sicily.
1250–73	The great interregnum.
	Rebellion in England led by Simon de Montfort.
1252	The Alphonsine tables published by Alfonso X of Castile.
1253	Ottocar II of Bohemia seizes Austria.
1255	Inquisition introduced in France by formal royal authority.
	Teutonic Knights found Königsberg.
	Manfred, ruler of the Two Sicilies.
1257	Founding of the Sorbonne.
1258	Mongol conquest of Baghdad.
	Provisions of Oxford.

1259–77	Mongol conquest of Syria and Egypt.
1259	Kublai Khan in China.
1260	Manfred overruns Tuscany.
1261	Fall of Latin Empire of Constantinople.
1263	Outbreak of civil war in England.
1264	Battle of Lewes.
1265	First parliament to which representatives of the boroughs were summoned.
	Battle of Evesham.
	Birth of Dante and Duns Scotus.
	First English Parliament.
	Defeat and death of Manfred by Charles of Anjou.
1266	Roger Bacon's *Opus majus.*
1268	Conradino defeated at Tagliacazzo by Charles of Anjou and executed at Naples.
	Founding of Angevin Kingdom of Naples and Sicily.
1270	Death of St. Louis before Tunis.
1271	Acquisition of county of Toulouse by French crown.
1272–1307	Edward I of England.
1273–91	Rudolph of Habsburg.
1274	Creation of the conclave.
1275	First statute of Westminster $\begin{cases} \text{Court of exchequer.} \\ \text{Court of King's Bench.} \\ \text{Court of Common Pleas.} \end{cases}$
1276–84	Conquest of Wales.
1276–1337	Giotto.
1278	Battle of Marchfield. Founding of Habsburg power in Austria.
1279	Statute of mortmain.
1280	Mongol conquest of China completed.
1282	Sicilian Vespers. Massacre of the French in Sicily.
	Great inundation of North Sea in Holland. Formation of Zuyder Zee.
1283	Conquest of Prussia by Teutonic Knights completed.
1284	Pisa nearly destroyed by the Genoese.
1285	Accession of Philip IV of France.
	Statute of Winchester. Justices of the peace.
1289	Battle of Campaldino, in which Dante fought. Overthrow of Ghibellines in Florence.
1290	Statute *Quia Emptores* forbidding subinfeudation.
	Expulsion of the Jews from England.
1291	Capture of Acre, the last Christian holding in the Holy Land, by Malek-al-Ashraf, Sultan of Egypt.
	League of Swiss cantons of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden against the Habsburgs.

1292	Adolph of Nassau, emperor.
1293–8	War between Edward I of England and Philip IV of France.
1294	Death of Kublai Khan.
	Masoud II, last Sultan of Inconium, slain by Mongols and sultanate divided.
1295	Return of Marco Polo to Venice from Far East.
	Model Parliament.
1296	Boniface VIII issues the bull *Clericis laicos*.
1297	Boniface VIII's feud with Colonna family begins.
	Taxation forbidden without consent of parliament.
1298	Closing of the Grand Council in Venice.
	Battle of Falkirk. Conquest of Scotland by Edward I.
1300	Papal jubilee.
1301	The bull *Ausculta fili*. Quarrel between Boniface VIII and Philip IV begins.
	Extinction of Arpad dynasty in Hungary.
1302	Battle of Courtrai.
	The bull *Unam Sanctam*.
	First States-General in France.
1303	Expedition of Nogaret to Rome and Anagni. Fall of Boniface VIII.
	Catalan Grand Company arrives at Constantinople.
1304	French victory over Flemings at Mons-en-Puelle.
1305	Robert Bruce king of Scotland.
1307	Battle of Apros. Victory of Catalan Grand Company over Byzantine army.
	Death of Edward I.
1307–14	Destruction of the Order of the Knights Templar in Europe.
1307–27	Edward II of England.
1308	Death of Duns Scotus, "the last of the Schoolmen."
1308–13	Henry VII of Luxemburg emperor.
1308–82	Angevin kings of Naples rulers in Hungary.
1309	Removal of papacy to Avignon.
	Swiss cantons receive confirmation of their immediate relation to the Empire.
1310	Conquest of Rhodes by Knights of St. John.
	Misgovernment in England. The lords ordainer take the government into their hands.
1311–31	Mansa Musa, King of Melle, conquers the Songhay kingdom and captures Timbuctoo, which becomes a great center of Mohammedan influence in central Africa.
1312	Philip IV annexes Lyons and the Lyonnais to France.
1314	Death of Philip IV.
	Rebellion of Scotland.
	Terrible defeat of English at Bannockburn.
1315	Battle of Mortgarten. Victory of Swiss over Leopold of Austria.

1315	Kiev, Volhynia, and Chernigov pass to Lithuania.
	Final defeat of Catalan Grand Company.
1320	Insurrection of peasantry—the *Pastoureaux*—in France.
1322	Battle of Ampfing.
	Battle of Mühldorf. Frederick of Austria captured by Ludwig of Bavaria, who is excommunicated (1324) by Pope.
1325	The Ban of Bosnia, Kotromanic, conquers Herzogovina.
1326	Turkish capture of Brusa.
1327	Deposition and murder of Edward II.
1327–77	Edward III of England.
1328	Extinction of Capetian house in France. Accession of Philip VI of Valois. Salic law.
1329	First engagement between Byzantine army and Turks at Pelekanon.
	Founding of Ottoman Empire at Brusa.
1330	Turkish capture of Nicæa.
1331	Stephen Dushan proclaimed emperor of the Serbs at Skopyle.
1333	Casimir the Great, king of Poland.
1335	Annexation of Carinthia by Habsburgs.
1337	Edward III claims French crown.
1338	Declaration of Rense.
1339	Campaign of Edward III in Flanders.
	Conquest of Bithynia by Turks.
1340	Battle of the Sluys.
1341	First passage of Turks into Europe.
	Separation of parliament into house of lords and house of commons.
1341–64	War of succession in Brittany.
	Petrarch crowned in the capitol.
1342–82	Louis the Great in Hungary. Introduction of French culture. Union of Hungary and Poland through marriage of Louis's daughter to Ladislas II (Jagello) of Poland.
1344	First English gold coinage (florin).
	Discovery of Madeira Islands.
	Battle of Salado. Defeat of Moors by Alfonso IV of Portugal.
1345	Murder of Jacob van Artevelde in Ghent.
	Expedition of Earl of Derby in Guienne.
	Discovery of Canary Islands.
	Serbian code of Stephen Dushan, earliest monument of Serbian language.
1346	Battle of Crécy.
	Scottish invasion. English victory at Neville's Cross.
	Esthonia conquered by Teutonic Knights.
1347	English capture Calais, which is held until 1558.
1347–54	Rienzi in Rome.
1348	University of Prague.
1349	Black Death,

1349	Acquisition of Dauphiné by France.
1350	Venice seizes Cattaro, which she holds until 1420.
1351	Statute of treason in England.
1352	Victory of Genoese over Venetians and Greeks.
	Negro king of Dongala becomes Mohammedan. Great extension of Mohammedanism along Guinea Coast.
1353	First expedition of Turks across straits into Europe.
	Statute of praemunire in England.
1354	Naval code of Pedro IV of Aragon—"the Consulate of the Sea."
1355	War between England and France renewed.
	Arabic numerals used by Petrarch.
1356	Battle of Poitiers.
	Golden Bull of Charles IV.
	Wiclif publishes his *Last Age of the Church*.
1357	Turks capture Gallipoli and Rodosto.
1358	The *Jacquerie* in France.
	Revolt of Etienne Marcel in Paris.
	Gheg emigrants from the northern mountains capture Janina and Arta.
	Tosk emigrants plant colonies in Bœotia and Sparta.
1359	English campaign in France.
1359–92	The Thopa family rule region around Durazzo and Kroya.
1360	Treaty of Brétigny. Devastation of Free Companies in France for several years.
	Leo Pilatus, first teacher of Greek, at Florence.
1361	France acquires duchy of Burgundy.
	Turks conquer modern Roumania. Establishment of the Janizaries.
	Death of John Tauler.
1363	Philip the Bold of France made duke of Burgundy.
	The Habsburgs acquire Trentino and Tyrol.
1364–80	Charles V of France.
1364	Battle of Auray.
	University of Cracow.
1365	Turks capture Adrianople.
	Guinea Coast discovered by Portuguese.
1366–1421	The Balsha family rule a part of Upper Albania, but the Venetians establish themselves in Scutari, Antivari, etc.
1367	Anglo-French rivalry in Castile. Battle of Najera.
	Foundation of the Kremlin in Moscow.
1368	University of Geneva.
	Ming dynasty in China.
1368–82	Trieste under Venice.
1369–80	Renewal of English war in France. Sack of Limoges (1370).
1370–1405	Tamerlane. Conquest of Persia (1380–93), Syria (1400).

1370	Death of Casimir the Great of Poland. Marriage of John of Gaunt with daughter of Pedro the Cruel.
1371	Turkish victory on the Maritsa.
1372	Victory of Spanish fleet over English off Rochelle.
1374	Habsburgs acquire Istria.
1376	The Ban, Stephen Tvrtko, styles himself "king" of Bosnia with Hungarian consent.
	The "Good parliament" in England. Attempts at reform.
1377	Death of Edward III of England.
1377–99	Richard II of England.
1378	Death of Emperor Charles IV. Bohemia and Silesia left to his son Wenzel; Moravia separated and given to Charles's brother John.
	Beginning of Great Schism.
1380	Russian victory over Mongols at Kulikova.
	Death of Charles IV of France and of Du Guesclin.
	Wiclif's *New Testament*.
1381	Peasant revolt in England.
1382	Victory of French over Flemings at Roosebeke.
	Death of Louis the Great of Hungary. Union of Hungary and Poland.
	Habsburgs acquire Trieste.
1383	"Crusade" of Bishop of Norwich in Flanders.
1384	Death of Wiclif. His translation of Bible into English completed.
1385	Battle of Aljubarotta; victory of John I of Portugal over John I of Castile.
1386	Tamerlane invades Persia.
	Swiss defeat Austrian Habsburgs at Sempach. Arnold von Winkelried.
	Establishment of the Jagello, a Lithuanian dynasty, in Poland.
	University of Heidelberg.
1387	Treaty between Genoese and Turks at Pera.
1388	Battle of Chevy Chase between Henry Lord Percy and the earl of Douglas. Ballad of Chevy Chase.
1389	Battle of Kassova. Great defeat by Turks of united Serbs, Bulgarians, and Hungarians.
	Immigration of Serb refugees into Hungary.
	Battle of Nafels. Swiss victory over Habsburgs.
	Richard II takes government into his own hands.
1389–91	Stephen Tvrtko of Bosnia extends sway over Dalmatia.
1390	First siege of Constantinople by Turks.
1391	Turkish conquest of Asia Minor completed.
1393	Fall of Second Bulgarian Empire. Trnovo taken by Turks.
	Second statute of praemunire.
1394	Truce between England and France.

1394	Nicholas of Clemengis publishes his *De ruina ecclesiæ*.
1395	Milan raised to a duchy for the Visconti.
	Tamerlane invades Russia.
1396	Battle of Nikopolis. Utter defeat of European forces by Turks. Scutari sold to Venice.
1397	Union of Calmar. Denmark, Sweden, and Norway united.
1398—9	Tamerlane invades India, capture of Delhi.
1399	Rebellion of Henry duke of Lancaster. Fall of Richard II.
1399—1413	Henry IV of England
1400	Welsh revolt under Owen Glendower.
	Death of Chaucer.
1402	Bajazet, the Turkish Sultan, captured at battle of Angora by Tamerlane.
	Battle of Halidon Hill against the Scotch.
1403	Conspiracy and fall of the Percys.
1405	Death of Tamerlane.
1407	Beginning of Burgundian-Armagnac feud.
1409	Rival popes deposed by Council of Pisa.
1410	Battle of Tannenberg. Great defeat of Teutonic Knights by Poles.
1411	Henry IV of England sends troops to Duke of Burgundy.
1412	Henry IV of England makes a pretended alliance with the Armagnac party in France.
1413	Statute *de comburendo heretico* against the Lollards in England.
1413—22	Henry V king of England.
1414	Opening of Council of Constance (November 5).
1415	John Huss burned for heresy.
	Rival popes deposed.
	Battle of Agincourt.
	The Hohenzollern house in Brandenburg.
1416	Jerome of Prague burned for heresy at Constance.
	John I of Portugal captures Ceuta from the Moors.
1417	Earliest mention of gypsies in Europe.
	Sir John Oldcastle leader of the Lollards burned.
1418	Massacre of Armagnacs at Paris by Burgundians. English capture Paris. First expedition of Prince Henry the Navigator.
1419	Madeira rediscovered by Portuguese.
	Ziska commander of revolted Hussites in Bohemia. The war lasts until 1436.
	Murder of Duke of Burgundy in France.
1420	Treaty of Troyes in France. Henry V of England regent.
	Pope declares crusade against the Hussites. Ziska captures Prague.
	Embassy of Greek Patriarch to Pope at Florence.
	Venetians seize Aquileia and most of Dalmatia.
	Turks capture Coltaro.
1421	Terrible inundation of sea in Holland.

1422	Death of Henry V.
1422–61	Henry VI of England.
1422–35	Regency of Duke of Bedford in France.
	Siege of Constantinople by Turks.
1423	Defeat of English at Cravant by French. Venetians take Salonika.
	Council of Siena (transferred from Pavia) opened.
1424	Defeat of English by French at Verneuil.
	Council of Siena transferred to Basel.
	Death of Ziska. Hussite raid in Silesia.
	Turks capture Salonika.
1429	Siege of Orléans by the English. Appearance of Jean Darc. Talbot defeated at Patay.
1430	Capture of Jean Darc by English.
1431	Trial and death of Jean Darc at Rouen.
	Great victory of Hussites at battle of Taas.
	Turks capture Janina.
1432	Azores colonized by Portuguese.
1435	Treaty of Arras by which the duke of Burgundy makes peace with France and abandons his alliance with England. Death of duke of Bedford.
1436	French recover Paris.
	Council of Basel grants the *Compactata* to the Hussites.
1437	Founding of Khanate of Kazar.
1438	Council of Ferrara convoked in opposition to that of Basel by Pope Eugene IV.
1439	Pragmatic Sanction in France, which limits papal prerogative.
	Council of Ferrara transferred to Florence. Ineffectual endeavor to unite the Greek and Latin churches. Cardinal Bessarion settles in Italy.
1440	Unsuccessful siege of Belgrade by Turks.
1440–53	Frederick III of Habsburg. Imperial title virtually becomes hereditary.
1442	Naples taken by Alfonso of Aragon. Expulsion of René of Anjou. Union of Naples and Sicily as the Two Sicilies under Aragonese rule.
1443	Victory of John Hunyadi of Hungary over Turks at Kunobitza.
1444	Ten years' truce between Hungarians and Turks.
	Great Turkish victory at Varna.
	George Podebrad seizes power in Hungary.
	Revolt of Albania under Scanderbeg (George Castriota).
	Portuguese begin African slave-trade.
	Charles VII of France makes war on Swiss. Siege of Zürich.
1445	Marriage of Henry VI of England with Margaret of Anjou.
1447	Pope Nicholas V, founder of Vatican Library. End of Visconti in Milan.

1448   Accession of Constantine XI, Palæologus, last Emperor of Constantinople. French recover Anjou and Maine.

Stephen Vukcic shifts his allegiance from King of Bosnia to Austrian Habsburgs and is made duke (*Herzog*) of Herzogovina.

1449   French conquer Normandy.

Many Tosk refugees from Turkish invasion settle in Sicily.

1450   Francesco Sforza establishes his dynasty in Milan.

Rebellion of Jack Cade in England.

Copperplate engraving by Maso Finiguerra about this time.

1451   French recover Gascony.

1452   Birth of Leonardo da Vinci and of Savonarola.

1452–55(?) Invention of printing.

1453   Complete defeat of English under Talbot at Châtillon. Loss of all English possessions in France except Calais.

Capture of Constantinople by Turks. Austria made an archduchy.

1455   War of Roses begins in England.

Battle of St. Albans.

1456   Turkish siege of Belgrade frustrated by John Hunyadi.

1458   Matthias Corvinus king of Hungary. Stephen the Great prince (*voivode*) of Wallachia, Moldavia, and Bessarabia.

George Podebrad king of Bohemia.

Pope Pius II (Æneas Sylvius).

1458–1504 Wallachia overrun by Turks.

1459   Death of Poggio Bracciolini. Turkish conquest of Serbia.

University of Basel founded.

1460   Death of Prince Henry the Navigator. Christian I of Denmark becomes duke of Schleswig and count of Holstein.

Battles of Northampton and Wakefield.

1461–83   Louis XI of France.

Edward IV of England.

1461   Trebizond taken by Turks.

Battle of Towton.

1461–66   Victories of Scanderbeg over Turks.

1463   Unsuccessful attack of Turks on the Banat.

Bosnia captured by Turks.

1464   League of Public Weal in France. Civil war.

1466   Teutonic Knights in Prussia subject to Poland. Second Peace of Thorn. West Prussia ceded to Poland; East Prussia becomes a Polish fief.

1467   Death of Scanderbeg, who leaves his conquests to Venice.

1468   Charles the Bold marries Margaret of York.

War between Louis XI of France and Charles the Bold.

1469–90   Matthias Corvinus king of Hungary. Union of Aragon and Castile.

1470   Ivan III conquers Kazan and Novgorod.

1470	Conquest of Negropont by Turks.
1471	Battles of Barnet and Tewksbury.
	Birth of Albrecht Dürer.
1472	Birth of Copernicus.
1475	Invasion of Burgundy by Swiss. Siege of Neuss.
	Birth of Michelangelo. University of Bordeaux.
1476	Second unsuccessful attack of Turks on Banat, which is not conquered until 1552.
	Moldavia ravaged. Crimea conquered.
	Caxton printing at Westminster.
	Battle of Granson.
1477	Death of Charles the Bold at battle of Nancy.
1478	University of Upsala.
1479	Turkish conquest of Kroya and Scutari, which Scanderbeg had left to Venice.
1480	End of power of Golden Horde in Russia.
	Spanish Inquisition established.
1481	Provence annexed to France. Beginning of Spanish war against Moors. Turkish siege of Rhodes. Otranto recovered from Turks.
1483	Turkish conquest of Herzogovina.
1483–85	Richard III of England.
1483–98	Charles VIII king of France.
1483	League of Italian states against Venice.
	Birth of Raphael and Martin Luther.
	Torquemada inquisitor-general in Spain.
1485	Battle of Bosworth Field. Death of Richard III.
	Henry VII Tudor comes to English throne.
	Matthias Corvinus captures Vienna.
1486	Cape of Good Hope discovered by Bartholomew Dias.
	Ivan III frees Kazan from Turkish rule.
1489	Death of John Wesel.
1490	Death of Matthias Corvinus, Maximilian recovers Austrian lands.
1491	Charles VIII of France marries Anne of Brittany, by which Brittany is annexed to French crown.
1492	Fall of Moorish Kingdom of Granada. Union of Spain.
	Columbus, first voyage and discovery.
	Martin Behaim's globe.
1493	Pope Alexander VI's bull of demarcation.
	Columbus's second voyage.
1494	French invasion of Italy and brief occupation of Naples.
	Savonarola in Florence.
1495	Battle of Fornova shows weakness of Italy against foreign invaders.
1497	The Cabots discover Newfoundland and explore northeast coast of America.

1497   Birth of Melanchthon.
1498   Vasco da Gama doubles the Cape of Good Hope and reaches India.
         Louis XII king of France.
         Execution of Savonarola.

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